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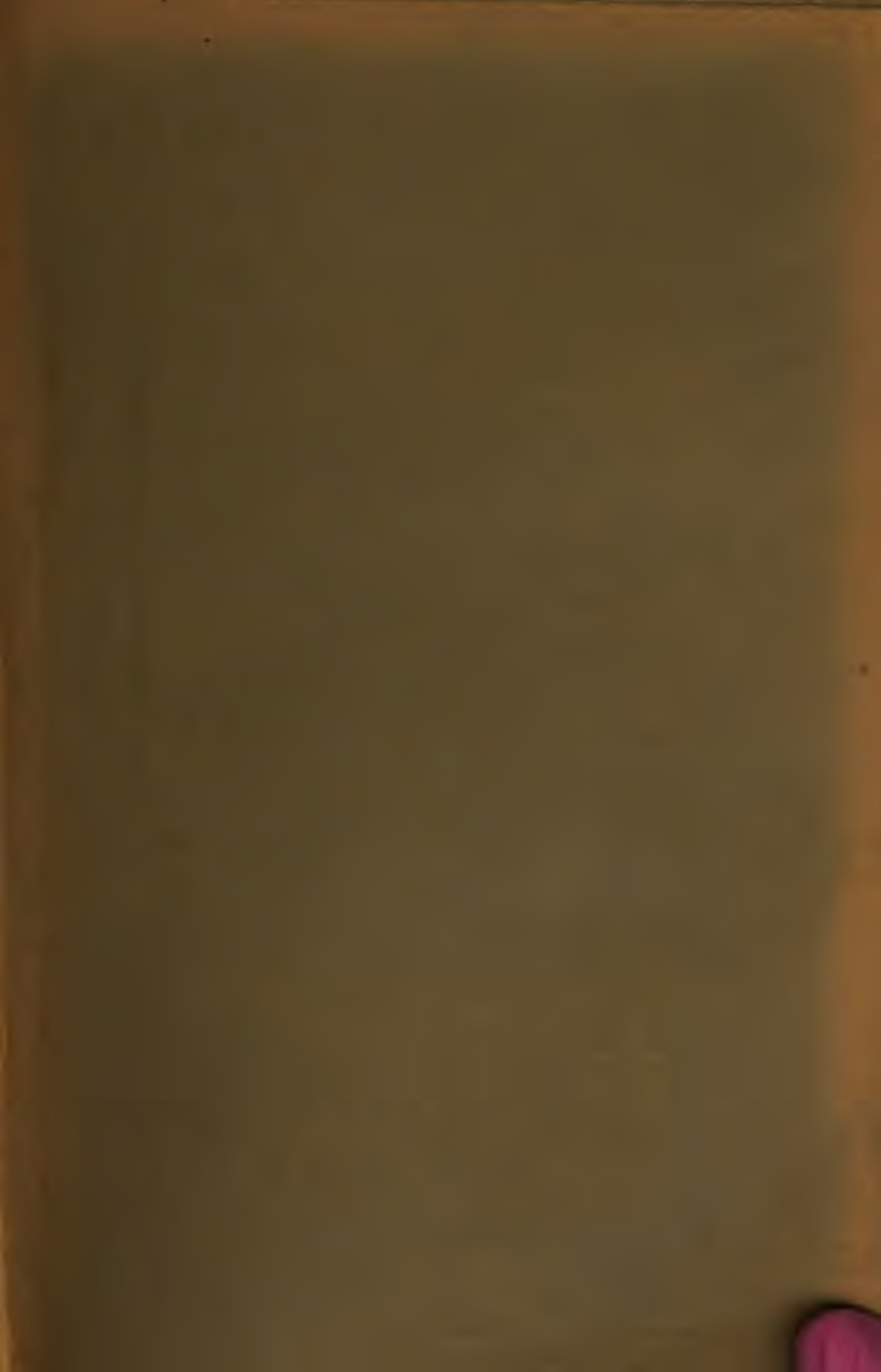
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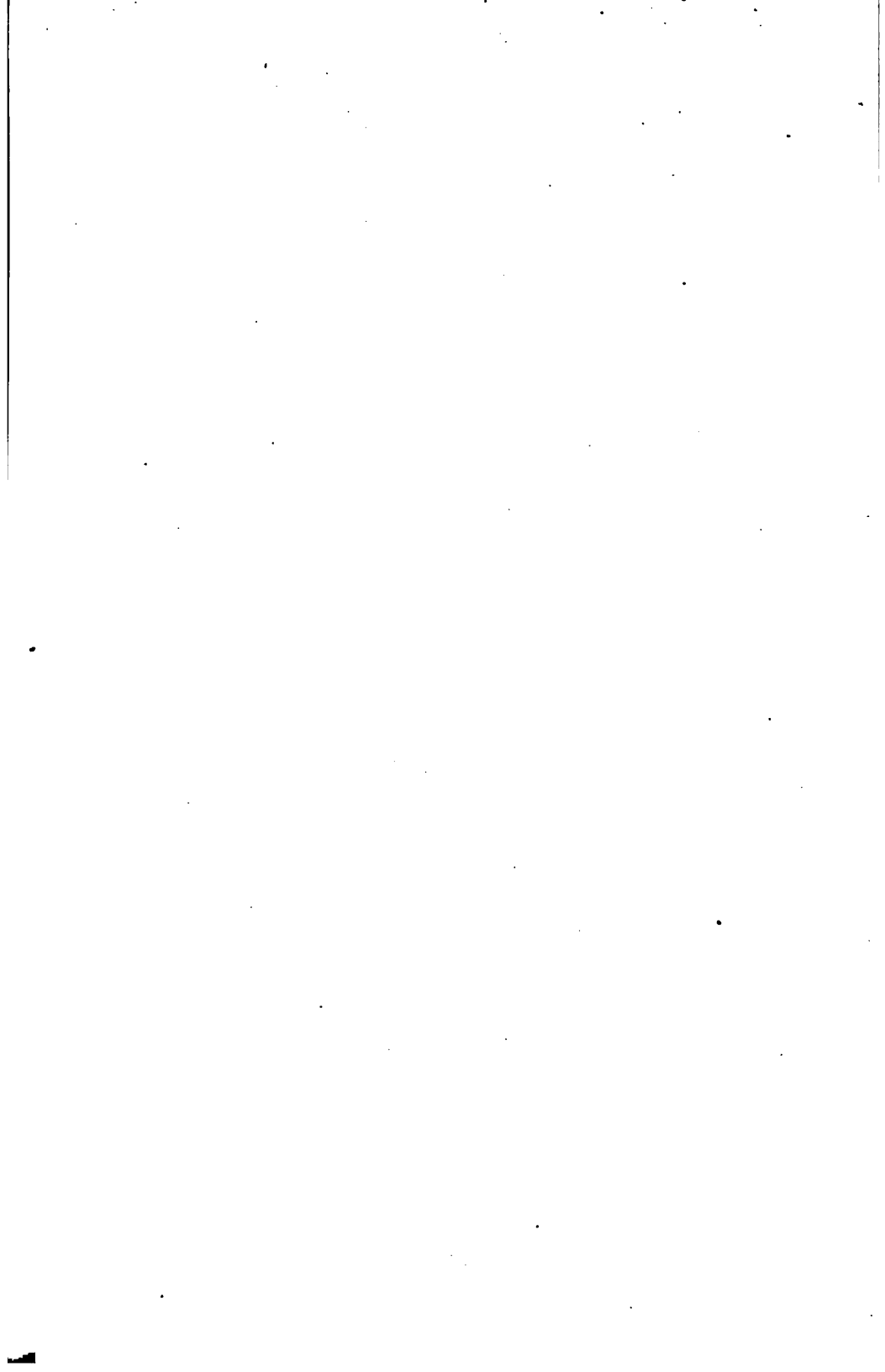
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THE LIFE OF
BISHOP KEN

THE LIFE OF
THOMAS KEN

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

BY A LAYMAN

PART II



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Life of Thomas Ken.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Bishops are released from the Tower—Their Trial for a Seditious Libel, and Acquittal—The Joy of the People—The Bishops encourage their flocks to remain firm to the Church of England.



THE ill-judged, and tyrannical measure of sending the Archbishop and Bishops to the Tower roused the nation, almost as one man, to a sense of the danger which now threatened their common liberties: even the Dissenters perceived that the King's real object was the establishment of Popery. How indeed could they expect a permanent indulgence for themselves, when a humble petition from the Bishops, praying to be excused from an illegal act, drawn up with such secrecy that no copy was allowed to be taken in any but the Archbishop's own writing, and delivered into the King's hand, in the royal closet at night, and on their knees, was denounced as the publication of a seditious libel? What security could there be for others, if, in the persons of these Prelates, the privileges of Peers, and the sanctity of the highest ecclesiastical

order, were publicly violated? James expresses great bitterness towards the Dissenters for so soon turning against him after the Declaration of Indulgence: he calls them "Vipers whom he had gather'd from the dunghill, where the lawes had lay'd them, and whom he had cherished in his bosome, till they stung him with reproaches, as false as they were vilanous and ungrateful." *

The other measures of the King, though contrary to the laws,—his appointment of a Roman Catholic Council, filling the army with Popish officers, annulling the Charters of corporate cities, establishing the Ecclesiastical Commission, forcibly invading the rights of the Universities, his arbitrary and cruel measures in Ireland,—all seemed of minor importance, compared with this last act of violence against the Bishops,—men of so holy a character, who were now sustaining the part of patient, humble, loyal sufferers in the cause of truth.

James and his advisers began seriously to apprehend the consequences of their precipitancy: even Jeffreys affected to deplore the present crisis, charging it on his master's determined will, and expressing a hope that more moderate counsels would prevail. He sent an obliging message to the Bishops in the Tower. Sunderland disclaimed any share in the measure. But a judicial blindness had come over the King. At one moment he seemed willing to change his policy, at another to fear retracing one step;—urged onward by the Jesuits, he thought any thing was better than

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 170.

to falter, and so plunged deeper into the labyrinth, in which he had entangled himself.

The Bishops remained a week in the Tower: during that time their friends, and counsel, were actively engaged in preparing for their defence. On the 15th June 15. of June they were brought by water to the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, to plead to a charge of high misdemeanor against the King's authority. The river on both sides was lined with spectators, greeting them with acclamations: and when they landed, the people, making a lane for them to pass through to the Palace Yard, begged their blessing as before, and thought it a happiness to kiss their hands, or even their robes. The Nuncio, who was a witness of the scene, describes "the immense concourse of people who received them on the bank of the river;—the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees. The Archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith: they cried aloud that all should kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many."*

* Sir James Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, p. 262. Macaulay describes the events of this day in his own forcible and summary manner; "On Friday, the 15th June, the first day of Term, they were brought before the King's Bench. An immense throng awaited their coming. From the landing-place to the Court of Requests they passed through a lane of spectators who blessed and applauded them. 'Friends,' said the prisoners, 'honour the King; and remember us in your prayers.' These humble and pious expressions moved the hearers, even to tears. When at length the procession had made its way through the crowd into the presence of the Judges, the Attorney General exhibited the Information which he had been commanded to prepare, and moved that the Defendants might be ordered to plead. The counsel on the other

Being brought into the Court, they were each called upon to plead to the indictment, which they did severally:

Clerk. My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, is your Grace Guilty of the matter charged against you in the indictment, or not Guilty?

Archbishop of Canterbury. Not Guilty.

Clerk. My Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, is your Lordship Guilty of the matter charged against you in the information, or not Guilty?

Bishop of Bath. Not Guilty.

And so with the other five.

A fortnight was given them to prepare for trial. The Attorney General was instructed to dispense with bail, taking credit for not wishing to insist on anything that should look like hardship. They were accordingly set at liberty, on their own recognizance,* to appear again in Court on the 29th, and "so were

side objected that the Bishops had been unlawfully committed, and were therefore not regularly before the Court. The question whether a Peer could be required to enter into recognizances on a charge of libel was argued at great length, and decided by a majority of the Judges in favour of the Crown. The Prisoners then pleaded Not Guilty." Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 365.

* Compton, Bishop of London, had arranged a list of Lords who were willing to become bail for the Bishops, if the Court should require it. The Earls of Clare, Shrewsbury, and Dorset were to have answered for Ken. Gutch's *Coll. Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 356-7. Macaulay says, this arrangement was made by Halifax; and he adds, that "one of the most opulent Dissenters of the City begged that he might have the honour of giving security for Ken." Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 365. Through Mr. Macaulay's courteous reply to the enquiry of a friend of mine, I am enabled to add that his authority for this last statement is a Despatch from the Dutch Envoy in London to the States General, dated June 25, 1688, and never yet printed, and known only through Mr. Macaulay's researches. The Dissenter in question was a Quaker.

dismissed to lie in their own beds that night.”* Such was the universal joy at seeing the Bishops released, that they could scarcely escape from the crowd who followed them with continued shouts. “When the Archbishop arrived at Lambeth, the Grenadiers of Lord Lichfield’s regiment, though posted there by his enemies, received him with military honours, made a lane for his passage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to ask his blessing.” Ken probably accompanied the Archbishop, as he certainly did afterwards, when the trial was over; for he was staying at Lambeth Rectory with his friend Hooper.† The Bishop of St. Asaph, detained in the Palace Yard by a multitude, who kissed his hands and garments, was delivered from their importunate kindness by Lord Clarendon, who taking him into his carriage, found it necessary to make a circuit through the park to escape from the bodies of people by whom the streets were obstructed.‡ At night the public rejoicings were continued, bonfires were made in the streets, and the health of the seven heroic Bishops was drunk with enthusiastic joy.§

As the day of trial drew nigh, the anxiety of the Court, and the interest of the people, deepened in intensity. The more moderate of the King’s advisers urged him to make the birth of a young Prince of Wales the pretext for a general pardon, to include also the Bishops. Had he followed their advice, it

* Ellis’s Correspondence, vol. i. p. 350.

† MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

‡ Clarendon’s Diary.

§ D’Oyly’s Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 288.

might have allayed the popular excitement, and have prevented the consequences that followed. "He was at one time resolved to let the business fall, and not to proceed against them: but some men would hurry the King to his destruction." He charges the error upon Jeffreys, and others: he calls them "sychophants, who covered his eyes from the light, and therefore, when the veil was taken off, he owned it to have been a fatal counsellor."* He faltered only for a moment: a last faint gleam of prudence flickered on his path; but every consideration yielded to his earnest desire for a verdict against them, which, if gained, would only have increased his difficulties. The punishment of the Bishops by heavy fines, imprisonment and deprivation, or suspension, would have aggravated still more the public mind, and alienated even these faithful counsellors, to whom he afterwards resorted in the extremity of his fortunes. He might have borrowed from their loyalty and peaceful demeanour an example of moderation, that would even now have conciliated his people. But not being prone to form a lenient judgment of other men's consciences, a hard inflexibility of purpose prevailed to his own ruin. He had recourse to every expedient which might secure the condemnation of the Bishops. Sir Samuel Aftrey, who was to strike the jury, had the King's personal instructions how to manage it: Sir Robert Clarke, and the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, were busy in the matter. Lord Dartmouth was sent to the Bishop of Ely, to persuade him

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 158.

to make application to the King,—but in vain; he was “very steady,” and would not detach himself from his brethren. Nor, on the other hand, were the friends of the Bishops less active on their behalf. Suggestions were sent to them from various persons, who appear to have felt as much interest as if the cause were their own. The following, among others, are evidences of the universal anxiety to contribute whatever might promote their success;

“Cam. June 26. 88.

“Most Reverend Father,

“The Paper within was sent unto me last night by a person of worth, and skillfull in that profession of the Laws, one who has a mighty veneration for your Grace, and serious concernment, as the case is, and cause for which you suffer. May it please your Grace to peruse it, and to make what use your Lordship shall think fit of it; if it may any whitt contribute to your advantage, tis the only designe of the paper, and the sencer;—not that he thinks but that your Lordship is already abundantly furnished both with learned counsell and argument, but to shew his respect and good wishes. I desire your Lordship would reserve it, for I have no copy. I pray pardon this boldness, and account me as I am ever,

“Your Grace’s faithfull Servant,

“RI: PARR.”

“Tis St. Peter’s day that you are to appeare at Westminster Hall: I was observing the Epistle appointed for that day. May you have the same success and deliverance.”*

* Tanner MSS., xxviii. fol. 88.

and are sending to my Lord Chief Justice to know when he pleases to take their verdict.”*

June 30. At ten o'clock the Bishops, attended as before, and the Judges, took their seats in Court to hear the all-important verdict. It is impossible to describe the keen interest that held all parties in breathless suspense, as the crier called over the names of the jury. The cause not of the Bishops only, but of the nation, seemed to hang on the next few minutes: the safety of the Reformed religion,—the vitality of the law—the very existence of liberty were involved in the result. We may imagine the gravity, and thoughtful collectiveness of mind, depicted on the countenances of the Bishops,† as they awaited the verdict,—themselves

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 374.

† They little thought, at that moment, what employment their Portraits would afford to various artists, making those countenances familiar through the land, to be revered household appendages, and handed down to posterity in numerous prints. Of these the Sutherland Collection, in the Bodleian Library, contains, no doubt, the most complete series. They will be found in the 1st volume of the printed Catalogue, for which I am indebted to the habitual kindness of Mr. Dominic Colnaghi, of Pall Mall East.

“THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

“Sheets.

“Seven ovals, with ornaments. Engraven by R. White, and sold by R. White.

“A similar print. Engraven by J. Drepenier.

“Another; with vignettes below. Dutch and French inscription. A. Haelwig, scul.

“Another; with Moses and David. Allegories. M. vander Gueft, scul. Sold by T. Bowles.

“Another. The Portraits in Mez.; the ornaments etched. R. Robins *fecit et ex.*

“The Seven Candlesticks. Small ovals of the Bishops and their Counsel. The Royal arms, emblematical devices, &c. With letter-press, ‘Primitive Christianity restored in England.’ S. Gribelin.

the objects of an intense solicitude. The Judges, the officers of the Court, the Counsel, the Peers, and the multitude of spectators,—were hushed into silence.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Gentlemen, are you agreed on your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Who shall say for you.

Jury. Our foreman.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Do you find the Defendants or any of them Guilty of the misdemeanour, whereof they are impeached, or not Guilty?

Foreman. NOT—GUILTY.

The first word was enough ;—the last was almost drowned in a tumultuous and eager burst of irrefref-

“ Folio.

“ Seven ovals, with ornaments. Engraven and fold by J. Sturt.

“ Seven ovals. ‘ *Immobile Saxum.*’

“ The same. (Proof before ‘ *Immobile Saxum.*’)

“ Seven ovals, with ornaments. A mitre above.

“ A similar print. R. White, scul. Printed for Baffett and Fox. Small.

“ The Seven Candlesticks. Small ovals, with ornaments and emblematical devices. S. Gribelin, *in. et scul.* 1688. Sold by T. Jeffries.

“ The same. (Proof before Gribelin’s name).

“ Mez. Seven ovals; and a vignette of the Tower, &c. Dutch verses. P. Schenck, *fecit et ex.*

“ Quarto.

“ Seven ovals; with a View of their going to the Tower. Dutch.

“ Two ovals; with a View of the same. In a border. German.

“ Going to the Tower. Dutch and French inscription. A. Schoonebeeck *ex.*”

Catalogue of the Sutherland Collection. London, 1837.

Royal quarto, vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

Three prints also were published, representing the Seven Counsel in seven ovals, with ornaments, engraven by R. White. Seven ovals in wreaths, fold by S. Baker; and a Mezzotint, seven ovals in wreaths, with ornaments,—[B. Lens]. *Ibid.* p. 71.

fible triumph :—" there was a most wonderful shout, that one would have thought the Hall had crack'd."* " Not Guilty! Not Guilty!" resounded from side to side, with loud and long huzzas, which were re-echoed from without. " It passed with electrical rapidity from voice to voice along the infinite multitude who waited in the streets. It reached the Temple in a few minutes. For a short time no man seemed to know where he was. No business was done for hours. The Solicitor General informed Lord Sunderland, in the presence of the Nuncio, that never within the remembrance of man had there been heard such cries of applause, mingled with tears of joy."† " The acclamations," says Sir John Reresby, " were a very rebellion in noise."

* Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 179.

† Mackintosh, p. 275. Macaulay's description is admirable: " Sir Roger Langley [the Foreman] answered ' Not Guilty.' As the words passed his lips, Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great Hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in a few moments, the glad tidings went past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market places and coffee houses broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point, that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation." Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 381-2.

James in his Memoirs relates, that,

“ As the Verdict of Acquittal was given, there was such prodigious acclamations of joy, as seem'd to set the King's authority at defiance : it spread itself not only into the Citie, but even to Hounslow Heath, where the soldiers, upon the news of it, gave up a great shout, tho' the King was then actually at dinner in the Camp ; which surpris'd him extremely, not on account of the Bishops' acquittal,—but what gave his Majesty great disquiet was to see such industry used to inflame the multitude, and set the people's heartes against him, and that this infection had spread itself even amongst those, from whom he expected his chief security : and that the Church partie instead of obedience, and duty which he had hoped for, and which he thought his protection justly merited, should be now the ringleaders of the faction.*

Startled at the acclamations of the army, he sent Feverham out to know what was the matter. The Earl came back, and told the King, “ It was nothing but the soldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted.” The King replied “ And do you call that nothing ? but so much the worse for them.”

The jury were received with the loudest applause ; hundreds, with tears in their eyes, embraced them as deliverers. The Bishops escaped from the huzzas of the people as privately as possible, and exhorted them to fear God and honour the King. “ Ken came with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Coach to Lambeth, over London Bridge and through Southwark, which took them up several hours, as the concourse of the people were innumerable, the whole way hanging upon the Coach, and insisting on the being blessed by

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.

those two Prelates, who with much difficulty and patience at last got to Lambeth House."* James accuses the Bishops of "heightening the discontent by all their little artifices to render his intentions suspected: for as they went through Westminster Hall, the people falling on their knees in mighty crowds to ask their blessing, they cry'd out to them 'Keep your Religion.'"†

It had been well for him if he could more truly have appreciated their motives, or more clearly have traced to their cause these tokens of sympathy between the Bishops and the people,—an affection for their common religion. But all his measures proclaimed that he was

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† His own Memoirs. Clarke's *Life of James II.* vol. ii. p. 164. The whole amount of expenses attending the proceedings was 614*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, which was divided rateably among the Bishops. The calculation of what each was to pay is curious, as exhibiting the annual value of their Sees;

The Archbishop was assessed at 4,000*l.* a year.

St. Asaph	700	„
Elie	2,000	„
Chichester	770	„
Bath and Wells	900	„
Peterborough	630	„
Bristol	350	„

9,350*l.*

on which they each paid 6 per cent. Ken's income was at first estimated at 850*l.*; but he appears to have felt some scruple whether that was sufficient, and 50*l.* was accordingly added, making it 900*l.*

The sum total paid to the Counsel was 240*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

It should be mentioned of Sir Robert Sawyer, the leading Counsel of the Bishops, and of his junior, Mr. Finch, that on one occasion they refused to take a fee of twenty guineas each. (Dallaway's *Western Suffex: History of Chichester*, p. 91.) They thought the honour of defending the Fathers of the Church an ample remuneration for their services.—Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii. pp. 368 to 380, from the Tanner MSS. and D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*. Edn 1840. p. 186.

no longer his own master. The treacherous or fanatical counsellors to whom his confidence was given, maintained him in the same extravagant expectations, the same unyielding spirit, and a more entire belief that conciliation after defeat would compromise his authority. He had a standing army of 30,000 men to overawe the Kingdom :—this in his opinion was a stronger bulwark than the hearts of his people.

The rejoicings in London and the neighbourhood continued for some days—not only were portraits of the Bishops multiplied through the metropolis and in the country,—but various medals* were struck to

* My friend, Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, has in his own Collection a series of eight Medals, struck on the occasion. I am indebted to him for the following clear description of them, which cannot fail to interest the reader :—

“ 1. The White Tower of London ; in the distance are the Bishops approaching under guard. *Legend.* PROBIS HONORI INFAMIE-QUE MALIS. Honour to the good, infamy to the bad. *Exurge.* ARCHIEPISC. CANTUAR: EPISCOPI. S^t ASAPH. BATH. ET WELS. ELY. PETER³ CHICHEST. BRIST. INCARCER. $\frac{8}{18}$ LIBERATI $\frac{15}{25}$ IUNII. 1688.

Reverse. The Sun and Moon equally balanced in scales suspended from the clouds. *Leg.* SIC SOL LUNAQUE IN LIBRA. $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch diam.

† 2. Bust of Abp. Sancroft, wearing a cap and robes. *Leg.* GVIL. SANCROFT. ARCHIEPISC CANTUAR. 1688.

† “ These medals were for some years a sort of badge of the zealous ministers of the Church of England, and of many of its warmest advocates among the laity. They were worn as an ornament to the person, in token of the wearer’s professed principles, and bequeathed from father to son for several generations. I have seen one inclosed in the following memorandum : ‘ This was my Grandfather C——’s ; he always wore it with a riband round his neck ; my uncle C—— did the same, and he gave it to me as a new year’s gift, and desired I would not let it go out of the family. I leave this with my tenderest love to my dear nephew W—— D——, hoping he will, when he sees it, think kindly of his truly affectionate aunt, ‘ S—— H.——.’ ”

commemorate the happy event. As the news spread into the country the ringing of bells and bonfires proclaimed a jubilee, especially in the Cathedral cities,

Rev. Bufts of the six imprisoned Bishops round that of the Bp. of London, stars intersperfed. G.B.F. Geo. Bowers, fecit.

Edge. SI FRACTUS ILLABATUR ORBIS IMPAVIDOS FERIENT RUINÆ. 2 inch diam.

3. A variety of the preceding, the date in Roman numerals.

4. Buft of Abp. Sancroft, same as No. 2.

Rev. Seven stars in the middle of the starry heavens.

Leg. QVIS RESTRINGET PLEIADVM DELICIAS. IOB. C. 38.
2 inch diam.

5. Buft of Abp. Sancroft, wearing a cap and robes. *Leg.* GVIL SANCROFT ARCHIEP^s CANT.

Rev. Church founded upon a rock, in the midft of the sea, and affailed by the four winds. *Leg.* IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS.
1½ inch diam.

6. A Jefuit and a Monk, with spade and pickaxe, endeavouring to undermine a Church, which is supported by a hand from Heaven. *Leg.* THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAILE. *Matt. xvi.* 18.

Rev. Seven medallions of the Archbishop and six Bishops, a mitre over each, and name below. *Leg.* WISDOM HATH BVILDED HER HOVS SHE HATH HEWEN OVT HER 7 PILLERS. *Prov. ix.* 1.

2½ inch diam.

7. Same device. *Leg.* THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAILE AGAINST IT.

Rev. Seven medallions of the Archbishop and Bishops, with their names. Stars intersperfed.

Edge. UPON THIS ROCK HAVE I BUILT MY CHURCH.
1½ inch diam.

8. A Jefuit and a Monk, with spade and pickaxe, endeavouring to undermine a Church, supported by a hand from Heaven; the field chequered. *Leg. incuse.* THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST IT. A border of large beads.

Rev. Medallions of the Abp. and Bishop. Legend incuse; the field radiated.

1½ inch diam."

and other large towns.* One of the absent Prelates thus writes to the Archbishop;

“Norwich, 2nd July, 1688.

“May it please your Grace

“To give me leave, *among the thousands in these parts*, heartily to congratulate with you, and your late companions in trouble, for the most joyful and most acceptable news we had this day by the post; namely, your acquittal from the crime endeavoured to be fixed upon you. I do assure your Grace it hath mightily revived our drooping spirits; and I beseech God to make us all truly sensible of, and sincerely thankful for so great a mercy. *I know your Grace hath now work enough upon your hands*; and therefore it would be the greatest impertinency to interrupt you in those great affairs: wherefore I heartily bless God for your safety, and thereby for His great and singular mercies, vouchsafed to His Church, and am, as in duty bound,

“Your Grace’s

Most obedient Servant to command,

“WILLIAM NORWICH.”†

Another letter to the Archbishop from Scotland says,

“It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the Bishops of England are in great veneration amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland, and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst them. But I hope it will be no

* At Peterborough, for instance, “the bells rung from three o’clock in the morning till night; when several bonfires were made, with tabor and pipe and drum, and a great part of the night was spent in rejoicing, and all of their own accord; whereas the day before, which was a Thanksgiving for the birth of the Prince of Wales, the bells did not stir till twelve o’clock.” Bishop Patrick’s Autobiography, p. 177.

† Gutch’s *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 383.

news to your Grace to hear that no man was more concerned in the safety of your consciences and persons, than,

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s most humble Servant,

“ GEO. MACKENZIE.” *

We do not find any account of the rejoicings at Wells and Bath; but, no doubt, the people there, who loved their cheerful Bishop, and had partaken of his charity, and listened to his teaching, responded heartily to the universal joy of the nation, for whose liberties a great battle had been successfully fought. Well might the Bishop of Norwich anticipate that Sancroft had “*enough work on his hands.*” Whilst James was lavishing all his attentions on the army at Hounslow, the Archbishop and his Brethren prepared to resist with other arms. The King’s angry and haughty bearing, and the threats of his bigoted advisers, foretold a greater crisis yet to come. Their courage prompted them to more energetic measures for the safety of the Church, now that his hostility and violence were so openly brought out to view. The sacred trust, committed to their keeping, was yet more endeared to them, in proportion to the difficulties that seemed gathering round. All the proceedings of the King indicated that their Trial was but the prelude to a more extended plan for uprooting the national faith. The progress of Tyrconnel in Ireland, Sunderland’s lately avowed conversion to Romanism, the undisguised joy of the Jesuits at the birth of a Prince, to be brought up in their tenets, the continued appointment of Popish

* Gutch’s *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 384.

officers to the army, were sufficient evidence of this. Again, the fact of several English and Irish sees being kept for a long time vacant, especially that of York, supposed to be reserved for Father Petre, and other encroachments of the same nature, were decisive proofs of the fixed purpose of James and his Council.

Sancroft, therefore, at once set himself to draw up twelve articles of instruction, or

“Some Heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops, in their addresses to the Clergy and People of their respective dioceses.” * July 26.

He exhorts the Clergy to be strict in all holy conversation, and set a good example to their flocks—to be constantly resident in their cures—to catechize the children diligently—to perform the daily office publickly in all market and great towns, and even in villages, to bring the people to Publick Prayers as often as may be—and to persuade them to receive frequently the Holy Communion,—

“That in their *Sermons* they teach and inform their people (four times a year at the least, as the first *Canon* requires) that all *Usurp'd* and *Foreign* Jurisdiction is for most just Causes taken away and abolished in this *Realm*, and no manner of Obedience or Subjection due to the same, or to any that pretend to act by virtue of it: but that the King's Power being in his Dominions highest under God, they upon all occasions persuade the People to *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to his *Majesty* in all things *Lawful*, and to patient submission in the rest; promoting (as far as in them lies) the publick Peace and Quiet of the World.” †

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 480.

† Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. i. p. 387.

“ That they often exhort all those of our Communion, to continue stedfast to the end in their most Holy Faith, and constant to their Profession ; and to that end, to take heed of all Seducers, and especially of *Popish Emissaries*, who are now in great Numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busie and active than ever. And that they take all occasions to convince our own, that 'tis not enough for them to be Members of an *Excellent Church*, rightly and duly reformed, both in Faith and Worship, unless they do also reform and amend their own lives, and so order their Conversation in all things as becomes the Gospel of Christ.” *

“ And forasmuch as those *Romish Emissaries*, like the old Serpent, *insidiantur Calcaneo*, are wont to be most busie and troublesome to our People at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of Sickness, and at the hour of Death ; that therefore all who have the Cure of Souls, be more especially vigilant over them at that dangerous season ; that they stay not till they be sent for, but enquire out the sick in their respective parishes, and visit them frequently : that they examine them particularly concerning the state of their Souls, and instruct them in their Duties, and settle them in their Doubts, and comfort them in their Sorrows and Sufferings, and pray often with them and for them ; and by all the methods which our Church prescribes, prepare them for the due and worthy receiving of the Holy *Eucharist*, the pledge of their happy Resurrection : thus with their utmost Diligence watching over every Sheep within their Fold (especially in that critical moment) lest those *Evening Wolves* devour them.”

“ That they also walk in Wisdom towards those that are not of our Communion : and if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our Communion : More espe-

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 389.

cially that they have a very tender Regard to our *Brethren* the *Protestant Dissenters*; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discouraging calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full Compliance with our *Church*, or at least, that 'whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same Rule, and mind the same thing.' And in order hereunto that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the *Bishops* of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable Enemies to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Church of *Rome*; and that the very unkind Jealousies, which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless.

"And in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them, to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an universal blessed *Union* of all *Reformed Churches*, both at *home* and *abroad*, against our common Enemies; that all they who do confess the holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the Truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect Unity and godly Love." *

Copies of these Articles were delivered to the Bishops who were in London, and sent in the Archbishop's name to those who had retired to their respective Dioceses. If they had been imprisoned for joining in a humble petition to the King to be excused reading the Declaration of Indulgence, what punishment might they not now expect for publishing a document, which openly compared the Popish Emissaries to "*the Old Serpent*," and "*Evening Wolves*," and the Romish Church, as "*the common enemy*," "*full of errors, super-*

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 386.

stitutions, idolatries, and tyrannies !” The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with Jeffreys at their head, were still thundering forth their orders to have the Declaration read, and threatening with heavy penalties all who neglected to do so.* But whilst the Bishops claimed from their clergy a dutiful obedience to the King ‘*in all things lawful,*’ no Court of High Commission could silence their remonstrances against the usurped authority, and public teaching of Rome.

It was no sudden fervour, kindled by a recent triumph, which animated them to a bold defence. Sancroft’s courageous spirit is fairly represented in a letter of the period: the signature is wanting; but it was probably from one of his Chaplains:

“London, July 27, 1688.

“Sir,

“Yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the Articles which I send you enclosed, to those Bishops who are present in this place; and ordered copies of them to be likewise sent in his name to the absent Bishops. By the contents of them, you will see that the storm in which he is, does not frighten him from doing his duty; but rather awakens him to do it with so much the more vigour: and indeed, the zeal that he expresses in these Articles, both against the corruptions of the Church of Rome on the one hand, and the unhappy differences that are among Protestants on the other, are such Apostolical things, that all good men rejoice to see so great a Prelate at the head of our Church, who in this critical time has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner.

“I am, Sir,

“Yours.” †

* Ellis’s Original Letters, 2nd Series, vol. iv. p. 117.

† Gutch’s *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 386.

The majority of the Bishops gave immediate effect to the orders of Sancroft. Ken circulated the Articles through his diocese, and prevented his Clergy from reading the Declaration of Indulgence. If lately, within the royal chapel, almost within the King's hearing, he had, "*with wonderful eloquence,*" "*described the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, superstition and legends of the Romish Priests, and their new Trent religion,*"* he was now equally prompt to show by deeds, as well as words, his devotion to the Church of England. He joined Trelawney, of Bristol, in a remonstrance to Lampleugh, of Exeter, for ordering the King's Declaration to be published in his diocese. Trelawney gives the following account to the Archbishop;

"August 16. 88.

"May it please your Grace,

"Mr. Gilbert, the bearer, going for London, and being desirous of paying his duty to your Grace, I gave him this opportunity, as well to receive your blessing, as to present you with the present state of the west. He is the labourious minister of Plymouth, who by his courage, life, and doctrine hath done a greater deal of good in that town: I wish his Lord, the Bishop of Exeter, had as fixt and steady resolutions; but his Lordship, acting according to a settled maxim of his own, '*I will be safe,*' had given order for the publishing the Declarations *notwithstanding the Bishop of Bath and Wells and my letters to him,* and was at last brought to recall them by the Deane's sending him word that, *if he would betray the Church, he should not the Cathedral, for he would rather be hang'd at the doors of it, than the Declaration should*

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 263.

be read there, or in any part of his jurisdiction, which is large in the county.

* * * * *

I hope I shall doe some good with the gentry of Devonshire and Cornwall. I humbly beg your blessing, and remaine

“Your Grace’s most obedient humble Servant,

“J. BRISTOL.”*

The Pope had appointed four Romish Bishops, who styled themselves Vicars Apostolical. They made their circuits through the country, dividing England into four Provinces, or Districts, according to printed maps, and assuming openly an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, similar to that of the English Bishops. They had published an address to the lay Roman Catholics, with the title of a Pastoral Letter, in which they claimed spiritual authority over the nation. It seems scarcely possible to imagine how the King’s advisers should have precipitated a measure of this kind;—a measure futile in itself, and tending to bring his Government into contempt, because of the very few persons who professed the Romish faith,—yet so manifest an infringement of the law as to excite the greatest alarm.

James, in his Memoirs, admits that even the reception of a Nuncio from Rome was an error of judgment :

“It was, he says, His Majesty’s misfortune, to think it would render people less averse to suffer the exercise of Catholic religion amongst them, by familiarizing the nation, not only to the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, but the Court of Rome too; this made His Majesty, besides the solemn services he had in his own chapel, permit the Monks

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. p. 158^b.

in St. James's to wear their habits, and admit a Nuncio from the Pope, according to the formes practised in the most Catholick Countrys."*

It had been fortunate for him if, even now, late as it was, he had given up the perilous contest before him, and returned within the bounds of the law. But he hurried into still more hazardous measures, which completely alienated all classes of the people, at a moment when a secret and extensive plot was ripening to bring over a foreign Prince, and to wrest from him both his crown and kingdom.

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 116.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Invasion of England by the Prince of Orange—Measures of the King to oppose him—Ken and other Bishops advise James to call a Parliament—He refuses: the desertion of his officers: he withdraws to France—William calls a Convention Parliament.



AMIDST all this confusion, there was one who at a distance kept a steady watch on every turn of the King's wayward policy,—his nephew, and son in law, the Prince of Orange. He had already laid the foundation of a secret scheme, which waited only the fitting occasion for development. But the birth of a Prince of Wales, and the acquittal of the Bishops, prompted him at once to a more decisive course. He had engaged in no violent cabals, which might endanger his interests with the King: but, holding a guarded intercourse with such of the nobility as were disaffected, he knew all that was passing, and was acquainted with the exact temper of the people. In this he followed the advice of Lord Halifax, "to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield, nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably." "Accidents come," said that intelligent counsellor, "which either relieve, or at least help to keep off for a longer time, the things we fear; and that is no small matter in the affairs of

the world.”* Each step of William was well considered, and marked by the same adroitness, which had characterized him from his youth. We have seen how his good sense, sobriety of judgment, almost imperturbable temper, and untiring perseverance, had conducted him through a complicated path of policy, till he at length became the leader of a great European confederacy. Although chief of a Presbyterian Republic, and of the Protestant cause in Europe, he had been able to persuade the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, and other Roman Catholic Princes, — nay even the Pope himself, — to combine with him for their common defence against the ambitious designs of Roman Catholic France.† This project took effect in the league of Augsberg.‡ By the same address he now brought the various parties in England to regard him as the disinterested champion of their liberties, and the protector of their religion.

The birth of the Prince of Wales, which might exclude all hope of his wife's succession, was to him the signal for more active interference in English politics. His schemes were conducted under cover of the national ferment which followed the trial of the Bishops. The clandestine correspondence, which he had for

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 186.

† The Pope's Minister was aware, so early as the end of the year 1687, of the intention to dethrone James. “It was a strange complication; at the Court of Rome were combined the threads of that alliance, which had for its aim, and result, the liberation of Protestantism from the last great danger by which it was threatened in Western Europe, and the acquisition of the English throne to that Confession for ever.” Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. ii. p. 424. See also Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. x. p. 319.

‡ In 1687.

some time maintained with the popular leaders, now assumed a more definite character. Amid the joyful peals that shook the village steeples, and the blaze of bonfires lighting up the hills throughout England, they planned the downfall of James. The well-known letter of invitation to William,* to come over with an armed force, was dated the very day the Bishops were acquitted: it was a voice more fraught with evil import to the King, because more secret, than the shouts of his army on Hounslow Heath.

William's two great projects, to curb the power of Louis XIV. and to depose James, so far from clashing, mutually aided each other. Under pretence of promoting the objects of the League against France, he was able to bring together a large body of naval and military forces for the invasion of England. Meanwhile he disclaimed all hostile thoughts against his father in law, professing towards him profound respect, and that "he wished passionately for occasions to testify his attachment to his interests,"†—when, in fact, his measures for dethroning him were silently nearing their accomplishment. The confederate powers, who formed the League of Augsburg, were sensible how greatly it would aid their cause, if he should gain the ascendant in England. They did not believe that he aspired to the crown. He was able to conceal this cherished object under the pretext of zeal for the com-

* Signed by the Earls of Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Danby, Dr. William Compton, Bishop of London, William Russell, nephew of the Duke of Bedford, and cousin to William Lord Russell, Lord Lumley, and Colonel Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

† Dalrymple Appendix, p. 185.

mon cause of Europe. On the eve of his coming to England, he wrote to the Emperor, that he "had not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms; and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to himself."* "He had the peculiar felicity, from the state of public affairs, to make his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, seem purely the result of necessity, and not of choice: the glorious pretensions of restoring the balance of Europe, and the invaded liberties of oppressed nations, gave at least a beautiful varnish to all his undertakings."†

Louis, who penetrated these designs, had constantly and emphatically warned James of his danger; and offered to help him with 40,000 men, and a large sum of money, if he would act vigorously in his own defence: for he knew that William's success would turn the whole force of England against himself. James dallied with this offer;—he would, and yet he would not, accept: he was restrained, partly by an ill-timed English pride, and partly by a mistrust of his French ally. It would have been more to his honour, if his pride and misgivings had prompted him at the first to reject the aid of Louis: but he had long since condescended to receive supplies of money from the French King, and even urgently to entreat their payment, when in arrear.‡ Had he promptly followed the advice of Louis, he would have defeated the con-

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 256.

† Echard's History, vol. iii. p. 878.

‡ Dalrymple Appendix, pp. 103, 146.

piracy, now formed against him, though he might have encountered an almost equal danger from the admission of a French army into the heart of his kingdom. But, as the notion of an alliance with France was distasteful to the English, he feared the prejudices it might excite, and disavowed the existence of any treaty, when it was charged upon him;—yet no one believed him.* Thus halting between two difficulties, he chose the greater. He was lulled also into a fatal security by reliance on his own prerogatives, and his large standing army: nor could he bring himself to believe that his daughter, and her husband, really intended to deprive him of his crown. Lord Sunderland, and others, accomplished in the arts of perfidious intrigue, betrayed his measures to the enemy. The farther they advanced in their encouragement of the Prince's invasion, the more confidently they ridiculed the idea that any such design existed.†

The Revolution of 1688 has been mis-called “a *glorious* Revolution.” Doubtless, it saved the country from a Popish domination; and established constitutional principles, by which the complex interests of the State have been moulded into their present admirable form of government. But the immediate means and instruments, which brought it about, were *sordid* and *inglorious*.

Looking at the actors in this great drama of the Revolution, we have,—on the one hand a king, such as James's own acts have declared him to be,—on the

* Letter of Louis XIV. to Barillon. Dalrymple Appendix, p. 296.

† Dalrymple Appendix, p. 283.

other his nearest relatives,—sons in law professing towards him a devoted allegiance, daughters bound to him by every tie of filial gratitude, trusted counsellors sworn to uphold his power, nobles and commanders paying him obsequious court,—friends loaded by him with benefits,—all combining to thrust him from his throne, and transfer their allegiance to another. If this be called glorious to England, unswerving justice and un sullied honour may be no more recognized in the dealings of man with man:—let the law of a heartless selfishness, that “the end will justify the means,” be the adopted motto of politicians.

But this cannot be:—there are principles implanted in our nature, which respond to all that is noble and truthful in conduct, and assent to the condemnation of meanness and treachery. Although, in the confused struggle of interests, men may be blinded for a moment to the laws of truth and right, still these are the standard by which all actions must be eventually tried at the bar even of human judgment.

And now abundantly appeared the bitter fruit of a previous sinful reign. Three years had elapsed since Charles had been cut off in the midst of his vices: but the influence of his profligate example outlived him. In banishing from his court the principles of virtue, the only sure bond of a nation's permanent welfare, he had undermined his brother's throne:—a wholesome warning to Rulers, if they will profit by it. The moral sense, and character of the nobility were tainted; the manly virtues that give strength to a kingdom had deserted the precincts of the palace. Bribery, intrigue, gaming, sensuality, spread their

corrupting influence over all within its sphere. When princes are profligate and unscrupulous, they reproduce their own vices in their attendants. So long as they have gifts to bestow, or power to command, they are served with a languid and selfish allegiance: no sooner is their fortune on the wane, than the corrupt minions of their favour are the first to seek another master. James estimated the faithfulness of those around him by the standard of subserviency to his own will: to this he bought or forced them by all the allurements, or compulsions, within the power of a King. He might have known that, just in the precise measure of their readiness to sacrifice principle to self-aggrandizement, his courtiers would be willing, when the opportunity offered, and strong inducements impelled them, to betray his interests.

Sept. 23.

Towards the end of September, James was brought to a sense of the danger which threatened him. Louis sent him certain intelligence on this point; he told him that the Dutch Minister, being pressed to avow the real objects of the Prince of Orange in collecting so great a naval and military force, had acknowledged to the French Ambassador at the Hague, that it was designed against England; and added, that several English Lords and gentlemen had crossed the sea, and lay privately in Holland, ready to accompany him in his expedition. On reading this letter the King turned pale, and for a while remained speechless. When one of his courtiers suggested that the Prince might still be diverted from his intention, or be defeated in the attempt, he answered, "I know my son in law's character so well, that if he undertakes any

design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and may hardly be defeated.”*

James's personal courage was unquestionable: he had, in early life, served with honour under Turenne, who had a great esteem for him; and again in the Spanish army before Dunkirk. In 1665 he showed great calmness and intrepidity in his naval engagements with the Dutch, exposing his person in the thickest of the fights; and he now prepared himself with spirit to meet the invading force. It was not until he saw himself deserted by the great majority of his officers, and forsaken by the nation, that he lost his presence of mind. Forced now by necessity, he issued a Proclamation for the meeting of Parliament, and avowed his purpose, not very sincere, we may believe, to maintain the Church of England. He declared his willingness that Roman Catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. Had he remained faithful to his pledge of a Parliament, his person, and the succession of his rightful heirs, if educated in the Anglican faith, would have been held sacred. The nation had not yet forgotten the miseries of the former rebellion: men feared nothing so much as another civil war. Whatever had been the King's errors, the people at large had not suffered in person, or property, by his arbitrary proceedings: the sentiments of loyalty, and attachment to the throne, were deeply implanted in the minds of Englishmen.

It was equally certain, however, that a Parliament

* Echard's History of the Revolution, p. 140.

would not only declare against his right to dispense with the laws, but would also curb his prerogative within the wholesome limits of the constitution. It would confirm the exclusion of Romanists from any state employment, and especially provide against a Popish heir to the Crown. James, therefore, notwithstanding his proclamation for a Parliament, determined to try every expedient, ere he would hazard so formidable an encounter. It appeared to him an easier alternative to advise with the Bishops, whom he had so lately tried to oppress; for he hoped through their influence to effect some compromise. Bishop Ken received a letter from Lord Sunderland to say that, “the King thinking it requisite to speak with some of the Bishops, he had it in command to require his attendance on the 28th of September, at 10 o’clock in the morning.” Accordingly he came at once to London. The Archbishop was unwell, and could not be present: but Ken and five others waited upon the King at the appointed hour, and were admitted to an interview. James, however, yielding to his treacherous counsellors, had already changed his mind; and appeared to have no fixed object in sending for them. They hoped that he would have given them an opportunity of offering him free advice on the measures which his own safety, and that of the kingdom, manifestly required: but he only declared, in very general terms, his favourable intentions towards the Church of England, reminding them of their duty and loyalty to his person. Ken, and others of the Bishops, had come from a great distance in obedience to his summons: they were grieved that it was to so little pur-

Sept. 28.

pose. Ken expressed to the King this disappointment, saying that "*His Majesty's inclinations towards the Church, and their duty to him, were sufficiently understood and declared before, and would have been equally so, if they had not stirred one foot out of their Dioceses.*"*

The King intimated that he had no leisure to enter into particulars, and so dismissed them.

The Archbishop, disappointed at finding how little benefit had resulted from the conference, went to the King, the next day but one, to request another interview for the Bishops, that they might explain themselves on the present emergency of affairs. He told him, "that the Bishops, who waited on him the other day, were prepared to speak to him of several particulars: but his Majesty having then said, that it was not a convenient time to enter into disputes, they apprehended his Majesty was not at leisure to hear them; and therefore he could not say they had received any satisfaction as to the publick." James accordingly appointed the 2nd of October. Sept. 30. Meanwhile he published in the Gazette an account of the Prince's intended invasion, and appealed to all his loving subjects to defend their country with the valour and courage of true Englishmen. Yet, such was his infatuated blindness, that in the very same document he recalled his writs for the Election of Members to Parliament, on the plea that "this strange and unreasonable attempt from the neighbouring country was designed to divert his gracious purposes,"—which, so far from being a reason against the meeting of Parliament,

* History of the Defection: State Tracts, vol. i. p. 46, folio.

ought to have convinced him that it was the only effectual measure for the security of his just rights. In fact, his enemies feared nothing so much as his heartily throwing himself on the allegiance of his people by this return to the principles of a representative Government. They well knew that it would reassure all honest men of his being disposed to listen to reason. Sunderland, therefore, and others of his council, persuaded him to break his solemn pledge. They had no doubt that Parliament would at once turn them all out of their offices; and, as his personal presence with his army was thought to be indispensable, they made him believe, that he could not controul the probable encroachments on his prerogative.

The intermediate time was employed by the Bishops in close conference at Lambeth as to the nature of the advice they should offer to the King. They agreed upon the form of an admirable paper, suggesting such measures as would have saved him from ruin, if he had heartily adopted them. James was accidentally prevented from receiving the Bishops on the 2nd of Oct. 3. October:* but on the 3rd they waited upon him, being nine in number. The Archbishop began by telling him, that nothing having transpired at the former meeting but general expressions of a gracious and favourable inclination towards the Church of England, his Reverend Brethren had been grieved to have come so far, and to have done so little. He repeated the expression of one of his Brethren [the Bishop of Bath and Wells] that "the matter would have been in the

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 203.

same state, if the Bishops had not stirr'd one foot out of their Diocesess:”—and then he presented their paper for his Princely consideration. It consisted of ten Articles. They recommended him,

“ 1st. To put the administration of government in the several counties into the hands of such of the nobility and gentry as were *legally qualified* for it.

“ 2nd. To annul the Ecclesiastical Commission.

“ 3rd. To withdraw, and in future withhold, all dispensations, under which persons not lawfully qualified had been, or might be, put into offices of trust and preferment in Church or State, or in the Universities, especially such as have cure of souls annexed to them, and particularly to restore the President and Fellows of Magdalen College.

“ 4th. To withdraw all licenses for Roman Catholics to teach in public schools.

“ 5th. To desist from the dispensing power, until that point had been freely and calmly debated, and settled, in Parliament.

“ 6th. To prohibit the four foreign Bishops, who stiled themselves Vicars Apostolical, from further invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is by law vested in the Bishops of the English Church.

“ 7th. To fill the vacant Bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical promotions in England and Ireland, and in particular the Archiepiscopal chair of York, which had been so long vacant, and on which a whole Province depended.

“ 8th. To restore the ancient Charters of the Corporations, which had been forfeited.

“ 9th. To issue writs with all convenient speed, calling a free and regular Parliament, for the purpose of securing the uniformity of the Church of England, due liberty of conscience, and the liberties and properties of the subject, and for establishing between himself and all his people a mutual confidence and good understanding.

“ 10th. To permit the Bishops to offer to His Majesty such

motives and arguments as might, by God's grace, be effectual to persuade him to return to the Communion of the Church of England, into whose most Holy Catholic Faith he had been baptized and educated, to which it was their earnest prayer to God that he might be reunited.

"These, Sir," concluded the address, "are the humble advices, which, out of conscience of the duty we owe to God, to your Majesty, and our country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majesty, as suitable to the present state of your affairs, and most conducive to your service; and so we leave them to your Princely consideration."* &c.

The paper was signed by the Archbishop, by Ken, and seven other Prelates. It was dictated by the same spirit of candour towards the King, and of zeal for the public service, for which, a few months ago, he had sent them to the Tower. They advocate no new principles or theories of government, no line of policy adverse to his real interests, but simply a return to the just limits of the law, as already existing, and to a Parliament, as the acknowledged instrument for redressing present grievances. Very different, however, from their former Petition was this Address, in its real import, and in the wide range of topics which it brought under the notice of the King: it breathed a freedom of advice which before would not have been endured, and laid before him a full exposition of the errors of his Government. But circumstances were changed; he no longer felt himself to be armed with uncontrolled power; his throne tottered under him,—and he began to learn that Englishmen, once roused to action, would assert with energy their ancient rights. We hear no threats now, nor

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 411.

exclamations of "this is the standard of rebellion." He was prompted by his fears to adopt the advice of the Bishops in several particulars, and thanked them for it: but as to the meeting of Parliament, which was the turning point of his safety, he stoutly resolved against it.

Ken remained in London for some days after this, and joined the other Bishops in several interviews with the King. On the 7th of October, Sancroft oa 7. received the following summons:—

" Whitehall, 7th October, 1688.

" My Lord,

" The King commands me to acquaint your Grace, that he desires you and the rest of the Bishops who have been lately with him, to attend him to-morrow, at four in the afternoon.

" I am, my Lord,

" Your Grace's most faithfull, &c.

" Lord Archbishop of Canterbury." " SUNDERLAND.*

The Diary of the Earl of Clarendon affords precise information of what passed at that and other interviews:

" Oct. 8, 1688. *Monday*.—In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King, having been sent for: his Majesty spoke to them about a fast to be appointed, and of preparing some prayers to be used in this time of danger of an invasion; which he directed them to bring to him. His Majesty then told them, he had considered their paper; at which he seemed displeased.

" Oct. 9. *Tuesday*.—The Bishops of Ely, and Bath and Wells were with me.

" Oct. 10. *Wednesday*. In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King, and gave him the Collects they had prepared according to his commands; which he bid them leave with

* Tanner MSS., xxviii. fol. 190.

him, and attend him again to-morrow in the afternoon. In the evening I was with the Princess: she told me the King was much troubled, and not well pleased with the Bishops.

“Oct. 11. *Thursday*.—In the afternoon the Bishops were with the King: his Majesty returned the prayers to them, and ordered they should be used in all churches. The Bishops thought themselves no longer under secrecy; and resolving to go to their respective homes, they gave their friends an account of all that had passed between the King and them.”*

Oct. 11. This was the last time that James and Ken ever met. The Bishop, having fulfilled the duty for which he was summoned to London, returned at once to Wells, and to his pastoral duties. The King, spell-bound, as it were, by the influence of Jesuits, and other false advisers, could not be made to see the certain, but fatal result of this obstinacy; though it was already known that many, who were most loud in their hollow professions of loyalty, would be the first to desert him. Ken felt himself unfitted for such scenes: he could neither flatter the King, nor take further part in the hopeless task of bringing him to reason. In this most difficult conjuncture his sagacity guided him into the plain path he was to pursue. He was neither cold, nor indifferent in any cause he undertook; ready for action,—but averse to state affairs. When others erred, his charitable nature made him lenient in his judgment of their motives; but no ties or claims of friendship, could move his fixed resolution as to his own line of duty. Whilst other men were zealously engaged amidst the turmoil,

* The State Letters and Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1763, vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

and confusion which prevailed at Court, he would endeavour, by all the influence he possessed, to maintain the King's interests within the sphere of his own diocese, to encourage the steadfast, confirm the wavering, and, if possible, to bring back those who were lending themselves to the cause of rebellion. His pastoral care was the loved refuge and solace to him in every trial; his people were his only family; in keeping them true to their allegiance he could not err.

Within a week he received the Form of Prayers, in which he had probably assisted the Archbishop to draw up whilst he was in town. They were three Collects, "to be used throughout the kingdom during this time of public danger," and breathing a calm, but earnest, and devotional spirit,—"*For Repentance,*" "*For the King,*" and "*For Peace and Unitie.*" If composed by Sancroft,* they were, no doubt, revised also by Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, an accomplished penman. The prayer for the King besought God to give His holy Angels charge over him, to preserve his royal person in health and safety: "*Inspire him with wisdom and justice in all his Counsells; and fill his princely heart with a fatherly care of all his People.*" That for Peace and Unitie prayed against the effusion of Christian blood in the land: "*Reconcile all our*

* A copy of the Prayers will be found in the Archbishop's own hand in the Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 139; copied in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 416, under the title of "Prayers to be used in all Cathedral, Collegiate and Parochial Churches, and Chapells within this Kingdom, during this time of public danger; and to be added to the daily Office both Morning, and Evening, immediately after the Prayers for the King, and for the Royal Family. By his Majesty's special command."

*diffensions; and heal our breaches. Preserve and establish that Holy Religion we profess, together with our Laws, and ancient Government. Unite us all in unfeigned and universal Charity one towards another, and in one and the same holy Worship and Communion."**

After this, Sancroft and such of the other Bishops as remained in London, had several interviews with the King; all which proved the correctness of Ken's judgment. James urgently pressed them to join in a public Declaration of Abhorrence of the designs of the Prince of Orange; which they steadily refused:—he called upon them to publish a denial of their having invited him over to England:—this also they declined. They stated that so few of the Bishops were in London, that they could not do any public act in the name of the whole: for themselves individually, they assured him that they had not instigated the invasion. The King was greatly incensed at finding them so resolved against committing themselves by any public expression of dislike to the designs of the Prince; and turned a deaf ear to their repeated advice, that he would call a Parliament. "This, my Lords (he said), is the last time: I will urge you no farther. If you will not assist me as I desire, I must stand upon my own legs, and trust to myself, and my own arms."†

Whilst William was hurrying on his enterprize, encouraged by fresh promises from England, James did not neglect the means for his defence. Yet they were not proportioned to the dangers that surrounded

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 416.

† Ibid. p. 439.

him,—or rather they were ill directed. Instead of concentrating all his energies to bring his army into the field, and at once to put himself at their head, he lost much valuable time in collecting detailed, and irrefragable evidence to prove before the Privy Council the reality of the Prince of Wales's birth. As if to provoke still further the public distrust, he chose to have the child solemnly baptized into the Romish communion, the Pope, by his Nuncio, standing Godfather. The fact of the Queen's giving birth to a son is now undisputed: but great pains were taken at the time to persuade the people that it was an imposture, managed by the Jesuits. William, in the public Declaration which he had put forth, explaining the motives and objects of his coming over to England, laid great stress on a supposititious birth, as a topic well suited to inflame the prejudices of the nation. If he really believed the calumny, it was not creditable to his judgment; if he disbelieved it (as subsequent facts would seem to prove), so foul an imputation on the honour of his father in law, and of the Queen, compromises at once his veracity and manliness.

Having completed all his measures, he set sail from Holland with a fleet of above fifty men of war, accompanied by a number of English Lords and gentlemen,* the flag of England, with the motto, "*The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England*," flying at the mast-head of his own ship, and on the 5th of November Nov. 5. he effected his landing in Torbay. But he met with a cold and timid reception, which damped the ardour

* Memoirs of James II., 12mo, 1821, vol. ii. p. 106.

of his hopes. The terrible punishment inflicted on the insurgents in Monmouth's rebellion was still fresh in all memories throughout the west of England; and so few joined his standard, that at one time he entertained serious thoughts of returning.* Had James promptly advanced with his army to meet him, it is difficult to say what might have been the result: but he committed the fatal error of remaining twelve days in London, during which time many of the nobility and gentry went over to the Prince.

A civil war appeared inevitable: it was the opinion of all the King's real friends, that even now the only hope of avoiding this calamity was to call a free Parliament. The Archbishop, and such of the Prelates as were in town, with many of the Peers, resolved for the last time to represent to him the danger of the present distractions, and the necessity of redressing the public grievances by the immediate adoption of this measure. They drew up an address, which was presented to him, on the 17th of November, by Sancroft, and Lamplugh, the newly made Archbishop of York, and others, in the name of all who had signed. It has been erroneously stated that Ken was again in London on this occasion. But he still thought he could be of more use in the country. The result verified his

* The Duke of Shrewsbury told Lord Dartmouth, "the Prince was much surprised at this backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolved to publish the names of all those who had invited him over; which, he said, would be but a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice." Routh's 2nd edit. of Burnet's Hist. of James II., note, p. 376.

opinion; for a part of the invading army came to Wells, which made it necessary for him to take measures of precaution for the public service, in obedience to the King's Proclamation. He also foresaw that nothing would turn the King from his resolution, which was proved by his answer to the Petition of the Peers; "My Lords," said James, "What you ask of me I most passionately desire; and *I promise you upon the faith of a King*, that I will have a Parliament, and such a one as you ask for, *as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm*: for how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near a hundred voices?"

Thus he sacrificed everything to a blind reliance on his false counsellors. He left London the same evening (the 17th November), to join his army at Salisbury; accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, Lord Churchill, and others. He arrived at Salisbury on the 19th, but being deserted by the unprincipled Churchill, and many of his chief officers, and fearing he might be betrayed into the hands of the enemy, he retreated to Andover on the 24th.* Ken mentions

Nov. 19.

Nov. 24.

* A shrewd writer of the day observes, "'twas no wonder after this, if the King began to mistrust everybody, which made him on a sudden leave his army at Salisbury, in order to consider his condition more securely at London. And here I must observe his ill fortune in depending on his army at first too much, and now at last too little. For 'tis very probable that his soldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the Prince of Orange, just as they had done before the Duke of Monmouth: the nature of Englishmen being like that of our game cocks; they love no cause, nor man, so well as fighting, even sometimes without any cause at all." Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 9393.

this, with other circumstances, in a letter of the same date to Sancroft;

“ For his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Before I could return any answer to the letter with which your Grace was pleased to favour me, I received intelligence that the Dutch were just coming to Wells, upon which I immediately left the town, and in obedience to his Majesty’s generall commands, took all my coach horses with me, and as many of my saddle horses as I could, and took shelter in a private village* in Wiltshire, intending if his Majesty had come into my country, to have waited on him, and have paid him my duty. But this morning wee are told his Ma : is gone back to London, so that I only wait till the Dutch have passed my diocese, and then resolve to return thither againe, as being my proper station. I would not have left the Diocese in this juncture, but that the Dutch had seas’d horses† within ten miles of Wells before I went, and your Grace knows that I, having been a servant to the Princess, and well acquainted with many of the Dutch, I could not have staid without giving some occasion of suspicion, which I thought it most advisable to avoid; *resolving by God’s grace to continue in a firm loyalty to the King*, whome God direct and preserve in this time of danger; and I beseech your Grace to lay my most humble duty at his Majesty’s feet, and to acquaint him with the reason of my retiring, that I may not be misunderstood. * * God of his infinite mercy

* No doubt Poulshot, a small village near Devizes, of which his nephew, Isaac Walton junior, was Rector.

† See a letter dated 22nd November, 1688, in Ellis’s Original Letters (2nd Series), vol. iv. p. 156; “The Prince of Orange has been at Bridgewater, and other places in the neighbourhood, and swept away all the horses in the country.”

deliver us from the calamitys which now threaten us, and from the finnes which have occasioned them.

“ My very good Lord,

“ Your Grace’s very affect: Servant and Br.

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS. *

“ Nov. 24, 1688.”

Very different from these loyal sentiments was the scene of treachery which, on the same day, was passing in the Court at Andover, within the distance of twenty miles from Poulshot. The King halted there on his retreat from Salisbury. His son in law, Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others supped with him,—loyalty and devotion were on their lips, perfidy in their hearts: for immediately after supper they took horse to join the Prince of Orange at Sherborne. Prince George might, at least, have had the decency to abstain from his father’s table, which he polluted by his presence, and from which he rose only to perpetrate his long meditated treachery. He left behind him a mean letter to the King, beginning, “ With a heart full of grief am I forced to write what prudence will not permit me to say to your face,” and signed himself “ Your Majesty’s most obedient and humble servant and son.” He was a poor creature, as weak in intellect as in principle. James declares, in his memoirs, that “ he was more troubled at the unnaturalness of the action than the want of his services, for that the loss of a good trooper would have been of greater consequence.”† His only answer to

* Round’s *Prose Works of Thomas Ken*, p. 41.

† His own *Memoirs*. Clarke’s *Life of James II.* vol. ii. p. 225.

the letter was to send his servants and equipage after him, which, if the Prince had a spark of feeling, must have been a keen and cutting reproof.*

Before he left Salisbury James had commanded the attendance of Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, who had rendered such important services at the battle of Sedgemoor. The Bishop thus describes the interview:

“Farnham Castle, Nov. 25. 1688.

“May it please your Grace,

“His Majesties intimation to mee, that hee thought my presence would (iff occasion offered), very much influence his army, I could not take it for less than a command, and accordingly halted to Sarum, wher I pressed him with all imaginable arguments to call a Parliament as the most visible way to put a stop to these confusions that threatened the government, and I left him in a far more inclinable disposition to it than I found him, and engaged severall persons near him to second what I had attempted. The next day, which was Friday, I found that severall of the troops were commanded towards London; and, wayting upon his Majestie, hee told mee hee would bee with mee as to-morrow, so that in order to his reception I came yesterday from Sarum, which is a long journey of above 40 miles, and now I understand that his Majestie comes not this way.

“This account of my selfe I thought proper to give your Grace, that I may receive your commands, which shall with all duty be obeyed by

“Your Son and Servant,

“P. WINCHESTER.”†

* Prince George had a silly trick of expressing his wonder on every occasion by “est il possible?” When the King heard in the morning that he had followed the example of others in escaping to the enemy, he said sneeringly, “so, *est il possible* is gone too!” Clarke’s Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 225.

† Tanner MSS., xxviii. fol. 262.

The King gave orders to distribute his forces in the different villages between Windsor and London, and arrived the next day at Whitehall, weary and enfeebled in body, distracted and harassed in spirit. He might have hoped at least to find, if only for a short interval, the refreshing sense of tenderness and affection in his family circle. Scarcely, however, had he received the first welcome of the Queen, when his enquiries for the Princess Anne, to whom he had ever been an indulgent parent, were met by the intelligence that she had secretly left the palace the night before, in a hackney coach, with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchill, and was gone to meet the Prince of Orange. Well might the father's heart sink within him at this astounding news:—the bitter cup of adversity was now well nigh full. He burst into tears. His own daughter, forgetting all the tenderness of her sex, the instincts of nature, the motives of filial gratitude, duty, allegiance, and piety, had clandestinely fled from his palace to aid the successful invader of his throne! Nor was this from any sudden impulse of duty to her husband; for she had long known, and acquiesced in, the proposed invasion, and some days previous to the flight of Prince George had written to William, expressing her impatience to join him. It might be that her attachment to the Anglican Church superseded all other affections. Let charity offer this palliation; it can never justify the unnatural and irreligious act.

“It was on this occasion,” says James in his *Memoirs*, “that finding himself in the like circumstances with King David, he cry’d out with him, ‘Oh if my enemies only had

curs'd me, I could have borne it : ' but it was an inexpressible grief to see those he had favour'd, cherish'd, and exalted, nay his own children, rise thus in opposition against him. This was what required a more than natural force to support : those strokes had been less sensible, had they come from hands less dear to him ; but being delivered over to all the contradictions that malice or ingratitude could throw in his way, he saw no hopes of redress, so turned his whole attention how to save the Queen, and the Prince his son, and cast about which way to do it with most security and secrecy." *

We may hasten over the next few weeks, full as they were of stirring events, as they belong rather to the historian than the biographer. The King, having returned to London, issued a Proclamation for the meeting of Parliament. Had he done this earlier, or even now, had he caused the Houses to meet, he might have preserved his throne : for though he had himself violated the Constitution, they would, no doubt, have maintained his rights. The great bulk of the nation, in joining the Prince, intended only to guard their religion and liberties. But James's advisers knowing this measure would seal their downfall and complete their disgrace, persuaded him, rather than submit to any compromise, to throw himself into the arms of the French King, who, they said, would soon enable him to return with a powerful army to recover his throne. In an evil hour he adopted this advice, and recalled the writs. He had already sent over the Queen and the young Prince ; and on the 11th of December, to the joy of the Stadtholder, and the amazement of the nation, he withdrew secretly from

Dec. 11.

* Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 229.

Whitehall, and made for the coast.* He says, "things were come to that extremity, by the general defection of the nobility, gentry, and clergy; by the scandalous desertion of the chief officers and others in the army, as gave little reason to trust those who remained; so that no other counsel could reasonably be embraced, but to quit the kingdom with as much secrecy as he possibly could."†

As soon as the flight of the King was known, London was in an uproar, and universal anarchy must have prevailed, but for the promptitude of the Bishops and other Peers, who at once assembled at Guildhall, and assumed to themselves the responsibility of the Executive: Archbishop Sancroft presided. They drew up a Declaration of their attachment to the religion and constitution of the country, and invited the Prince of Orange to London, that he might take upon himself the administration of the public affairs. But before he could arrive, intelligence was received that the King had been discovered at Feversham. He had been roughly handled by the mob, robbed of his money and watch, and forcibly detained a prisoner. He wrote a letter in his own hand, "addressed to no particular person, but imploring the aid of all good Englishmen."‡ A detachment of troops was sent to protect his person, and set him at liberty. Accordingly, on the 16th, by one of those strange vicissitudes

Dec. 16.

* Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. ii. pp. 546-7.

† His own Memoirs. Clarke's History of James II., vol. ii. p. 241.

‡ Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 568.

populace. Evelyn says, "he went to mass, and on the same day dined in public, a Jesuit saying grace. (I was present.)"*

According to his own account, James was

"Hugely surprized with the unexpected testimonys of the people's affection to him, it is not to be imagined what acclamations were made, and what joy the people expressed at his Majesty's return; such bonfires, ringing of bells, and all imaginable markes of love and esteem, as made it look liker a day of tryumph than humiliation; and this was so universal amongst all ranks of people, that the King, nor none that were with him, had ever seen the like before, the same crowds of people and crys of joy accompanying him to Whitehall, and even to his bed chamber door itself."†

This exaggerated account is a specimen of his blind confidence in his own qualities, and of his insensibility to the reciprocal duties of kings and subjects. No doubt he was greeted with partial expressions of popular attachment, which were prompted by a momentary, but generous feeling of pity at hearing of the ill treatment he had received.

The Prince, who had advanced his army without opposition as far as Windsor, hearing of this unsettled temper of the people, could not restrain his resentment against those who had promoted the King's return. He now had recourse to unworthy expedients to force

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 286. See Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. p. 550, *et seq.* It is hardly possible to do justice to his forcible descriptions of these scenes of confusion: having the most familiar acquaintance with every minute fact,—and grouping characters and incidents together in a living picture, he reduces them all into historical order.

† Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 262.

him, by fears for his personal safety, to fly once more. The foreign guards were ordered to take up their quarters at Whitehall. James retired to rest in the midst of them; but at midnight, whilst he was in bed, a warrant was delivered to him from the Prince, ordering him to leave the palace before ten o'clock the next morning, the 18th December. His presence of mind Dec. 18. now again entirely forsook him: the danger was imminent, and prompted him to the full conviction, that his only course was to escape to France. He was allowed to proceed to Rochester,* from whence, by William's order, every facility was afforded him to effect his escape; and on the 25th he for ever left Dec. 25. England to take refuge with a foreign Prince. The generous long-enduring sympathy of Louis exhibited a forcible contrast to the selfish, and inflexible ambition of his own son in law.

On the same day that the King removed from London, William came to the palace with his Dutch troops, the rabble crowding and shouting round him, as they had done a few days before for James. The Courtiers who, as but yesterday, waited on the King, now hastened to pay their duty to the usurper of his

* "When James took his departure from Whitehall he was attended by about a hundred of the Dutch guards. These latter left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more respect than his own guards had lately done. Most of that body, as it happened, were Papists: so that, when the King went to Mass, they went with him, and joined very reverently. And when they were asked, '*How they could serve in an expedition designed to destroy their own religion?*' one of them answered, '*His soul was God's, but his sword was the Prince of Orange's.*' The King is said to have been so delighted with this answer, that he repeated it to all that came about him." Echard's Hist. of the Revolution, 8vo, p. 206.

throne. William, astonished at their fickleness, resolved not to trust them, until he had adjusted the clashing interests of all parties to the present posture of his fortunes. In contrast with his own intentness of purpose, he discerned the inconsistency of those with whom he had to deal. He conducted himself with admirable discretion and calmness: he said little; and by no act did he overstep the position of a provident general, quartering his army in and near the capital of a friendly nation which he was come to rescue from oppression. This was the turn he succeeded in giving to the public mind, which he had the tact to seem always to follow, rather than lead.

Dec. 20. On the 20th of December, the Sheriffs, and a deputation from the city, had an audience to express their sense of gratitude and attachment. On the

Dec. 24. 24th the Lords, having met in their own House, voted an address, desiring his Highness to take upon him the temporary management of affairs, and to cause letters to be written, subscribed by himself, to the counties, universities and towns, directing them to choose members who should assemble in Parliament. The Prince did not consider their authority sufficient, without an equal sanction from the Commons; and before he would return an answer, he invited all who had served in any of the Parliaments of Charles II., also the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and fifty of the Common Council, to wait upon him. Accordingly 160 members, with the citizens, came to St. James's

Dec. 26. on the 26th, and being made acquainted with the state of affairs, were desired to meet for deliberation in the House of Commons at Westminster. This

they immediately did, made choice of their speaker, and concurred in the address of the Lords. Under their joint authority, the Prince issued his summons for the meeting of a Convention on the 22nd of January. The 30th of December, being Sunday, he received the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. Dec. 30.

It may be well asked what became all this time of the Jesuits, Monks, and Roman Counsellors, who had been the active agents of mischief, and the immediate cause of the King's downfall. They were absolutely put to the rout: some escaped to France, others hid themselves; their chapels were burnt, or pillaged by the mob. A letter from Father Con* to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Rome gives a lively picture of their confusion, and of their own daring folly that brought it about:

"London, 10 Dec. 1688.

"Honour'd Father William,

"There is now an end of all the pleasing hopes of seeing our holy religion make a progress in this country. The King and Queen are fled, their adherents are left to themselves, and a new Prince, with a foreign army, has got possession without the least resistance. It is a thing unseen, unheard of, unrecorded in history, that a king in peaceful possession of his realm, with an army of 30,000 fighting men, and 40 ships of war, should quit his kingdom without firing a pistol. The foreigners themselves who have got possession are astonished

* Burnet says, "I knew Con well, who had been long in Rome; and most of the letters between England and Rome passed through his hands. He was a crafty man, and knew news well, and loved money." Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time, edit. 1839, p. 296.

at their own success, and laugh at the English for their cowardice and disloyalty to their Prince. It looks as if heaven and earth had conspired against us. But this is not all; the great evil comes from ourselves; our own imprudence, avarice, and ambition have brought all this upon us. The good king has made use of fools, knaves, and blockheads; and the great minister that you sent hither has contributed also his share.* Instead of a moderate, discreet and sagacious minister, you sent a mere boy, a fine showy fop to make love to the ladies;

Egregiam verò laudem, et spolia ampla tulistis.

But enough on this head, my dear friend; the whole affair is over. I am only sorry that I made one among so many madmen, who were incapable of either directing or governing. I now return, as I can, with the little family† to a land of Christians: this unhappy voyage costs me dear: but there is no help for it. The prospect was fair, if the business had been in the hands of men of sense; but, to our disgrace, the helm was held by rogues. I have already paid the compliments of the new year to our patrons; and I now do the same to you and to all friends. If God grants me a safe passage beyond sea, you shall hear from me.

“I remain as usual.

* Ferdinand, Count d'Adda. Although James in his Memoirs would seem to confirm this opinion of the Nuncio's character, it would appear, from several authorities, that he was a moderate and politic man, who would willingly have restrained the impetuosity of Father Petre, and others of the King's Counsellors. Welwood says (Memoirs, p. 184), “However the world has been imposed on to believe that the Pope's Nuncio at the English Court, who is since made a Cardinal, was an instrument to push on things to extremities, yet certain it is, he had too much good sense to approve of all the measures that were taken; and therefore desired often to be recalled, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them.” See Routh's Edition of Burnet's James II., note to p. 191; also the note to p. 372 *antè* of this volume.

† i.e. the Jesuits.

"A Scotch gentleman named Salton* who is arrived here from P. D. O.† sends his respects to you, and Signore Tomaso. The confusion here is great, nor is it known what is likely to be the event, much less what it will be: but for us there is neither faith nor hope left. We are totally put to the rout this time, and the Fathers of our Holy Company have contributed their part towards this destruction. All the rest, Bishops, Confessors, Friars and Monks, have acted with little prudence."‡

* Fletcher of Saltoun.

† Pere D'Orleans, Author of "*Histoire des Revolutions d'Angleterre, &c., jusqu'en 1691.*" He died in 1698 (Moreri).

‡ Lord Clarendon's Correspondence and Diary, vol. ii. p. 506, translated from the Italian Letter in the Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 278. Another Italian copy may be found in the Harleian MSS. 7,001. Both are in the Italian writing of the day.



CHAPTER XIX.

The consistent conduct of Ken at the Revolution—Meeting of the Convention Parliament—Declaration, that the Throne was vacant, not approved by Ken and others—The Crown conferred on William and Mary—The Revolution considered.



THE History of James II. presents to us the spectacle of a king sacrificing his inherited crown, and all that life had to offer of power, honour, or happiness, to the vain hope of re-establishing Romanism, which had long been rejected by the nation. Mr. Fox imputes to him the love of arbitrary power, as his master passion: we may rather ascribe his acts to a sincere attachment to his religion, and what he believed the dictates of conscience. The whole history of the world teems with examples of errors, and even crimes, committed under the hollow sanction of a mistaken conscience. The assassin of Henri Quatre sincerely thought he was ridding the Christian world of a dangerous heretic. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated under the belief that, in promoting the cause of the Roman Catholic religion, it would tend to the glory of God. Oliver Cromwell's conscience, if we are to believe his own assertions, prompted him to bring Charles II. to the block. The religious persecutions of all sects, in all times,—and “man's inhumanity to man,” in whatever cause,

have been defended on the same false plea. Conscience has a varying standard in every individual mind,—true, when she prompts us to the exercise of Christian love;—but a subtle betrayer, whenever she would justify the acts of an impatient will, or tempt us to follow our own mistaken sympathies. James's conscience was in the keeping of Father Petre, under whose guidance he would have imposed a Popish yoke on England: he believed that he was acting in accordance with the Divine Will, *which he was conscientiously resolved to accomplish by his own means*,—and so forfeited the kingdom for himself and his posterity.

And now, when all persons were looking to William, as to the rising sun, we may take a glance at the conduct of Sancroft, Ken, and the other Bishops, who had already acted so conspicuous a part in withstanding the arbitrary proceedings of James. They did not consider his departure from the kingdom to be a forfeiture of his constitutional rights.* They held themselves bound by their oaths to adhere to him.

After the King's flight Sancroft had presided in the Council of Peers at Guildhall, on the 11th of December, to prevent anarchy and confusion, and had joined in the address inviting William to London. But finding afterwards that, contrary to his former Declaration, the Prince began to aspire to the crown, he had refused to join in the crowd of courtiers who

* If the flight of a King, compelled to seek his safety from subjects, appearing against him with an armed force, were a valid abdication, there would be no security for the lineal descent of the Crown. Then, the escape of Charles II. to France, in 1651, after the battle of Worcester, was a forfeiture.

hastened to Whitehall to pay their respects to him.* Whatever might have been the errors and faults of James,—his open violation of the laws, and his deliberate resolve to establish Popery,—Sancroft could not be brought to aid in any measure which might endanger the rights of succession.

Therefore, as soon as it was known that the King had gone away the second time, he wrote to Ken, Lloyd, and others, requiring their attendance :

“ My Lord,

“ The great Revolutions, which have of late been here, and y^e perplext estate of affairs, consequent thereupon, have made it not only mine, but the opinion of all our Brethren here, that you should make all convenient hast up hither. Wishing you a prosperous journey,

“ I remain Y^r very affect. Brother,

“ W. CANT. †

“ Lamb · H. Dec. 18, 1688.”

The letter reached Ken within 48 hours of the time he was to hold an Ordination in his cathedral. He did not hesitate in deciding which was his paramount duty : he proceeded with the appointed work of the Church. Christmas and the following days being holy Festivals, he was not disposed to mix in political turmoils, and wrote the following answer ;

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord,

“ I received your Grace's letter, which came to my hands late on Thursday night, so that, had I had no obligation on me to ordain next Sunday, yett it was impossible for me to have

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 245.

† MSS. Letters in Dr. Williams's Collection.

reached the towne before Christmas, but as soone as the weather will permitt I intend, God willing, to wait on you. God of His infinite goodnesse, send downe a double portion of His Spirit, to rest on your selfe, and on my reverend Brethren, to direct, and support you in this great conjuncture.

“ My good Lord,

“ Your Grace’s very obedient Servant,

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

“ Dec. 22. 1688.”

Lloyd, of St. Asaph, writes to one of the Bishops (perhaps Turner, of Ely, who was then in London), inviting him to attend at Court, with the Archbishops ;

“ My Lord,

“ The Prince hath appointed us to wait upon him to-morrow after dinner, betwixt two and three of the clock. I desire you to impart this to the two Archbishops and to my Lord of Winchester. I am

“ Your Lordship’s most faithful
Servant and Brother,

“ W. ASAPH.†

“ Tuesday night, 7. of Clock.

It would appear, by a draft of a letter in his own hand-writing, that Sancroft wrote to the Prince to explain his reasons for not coming to Whitehall to pay his respects ;—he was “ hindered with bodily infirmitys,”—and “ I and my brethren were not so far satisfy’d with some things that have been done since your Highnesse coming to Windsor.”‡ Ken was of

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 299. † Ibid. p. 287.

‡ “ *Draft of Sancroft’s Letter to the Prince of Orange.*”

“ I do therefore present my most humble thanks to your Highness, and declare my full resolution to serve you in accomplishing the ends of

the same mind, and therefore never attended at Court.

As soon as he had performed his episcopal duties of the Ordination, which had made him decline the summons of the Archbishop just before Christmas, he lost no time afterwards in coming to London, that he might join in defending the interests of the Church, and of the Crown. He could hardly doubt that, in the perplexed discussions, and jarring interests of public men, he would have to oppose the Prince, who was in all probability to be the future King, and with whose resolute temper he was well acquainted. His duty had once before prompted him to incur William's displeasure: and now far deeper interests were at stake, and more serious consequences to himself would follow, if he should venture to thwart him. This caused him no indecision. His frank simplicity was one of the main elements of his calmness in all emergencies: he had never shown any disposition to ingratiate himself with those in power by a compromise of

your Declaration, and I beseech your Highness still to adhere to the rules you have sett yourself in it, to maintaine our religion and our laws, that we may be able to goe along with you without any breach uppon our oaths and allegiance, and with the satisfaction of our consciences.

"I have bin so slow in waiting uppon your Highness, partly because my being bindred with bodily infirmitys, and yet I must also acknowledge it was partly because I and my Brethren were not so far satisfyd with some things that have bin done since your Highnesse coming to Windsor, that I could thinke fitt to approve them, or to seeme so to doe, as it might have bin understood, if I had come sooner.

"But yet, all this while I have had a grateful sence of our great obligations to your Highness, for that heroick undertaking uppon the reasons expressd in your gracious Declaration, and for the Benefitts that wee enjoy, and hope to receive by your meanes."—Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. p. 319"

principle. Accordingly he presented himself at Lambeth, on the 10th of January, 1689; Sancroft being Jan. 10. very desirous to have the advice of the Bishops at the present crisis.

They had frequent consultations together: several of the Peers joined them, and it seems, from the following letter of Turner of Ely to the Archbishop, that they had much difficulty in settling among themselves how they should act,—whether to present an address to the Prince against deposing the King,—and if so, how it should be worded:

“ Ely House, January 11, 1688-9.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ If your Grace will forgive me and my brother [probably Ken] *our unwelcome importunities yesterday*, I will offer nothing at this time that, I believe, will be unacceptable, but something that, I hope, meets your own thoughts and inclinations. And it is this, to proceed in the designs of drawing up propositions of our doctrine against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession. And this scheme we humbly and earnestly beg of your Grace to form and put into order for us. Without compliment, your Grace is better versed than all of us together in those repositories of canons and statutes, whence these propositions should be taken. If you please, my lord, to cast your eye upon the enclosed paper of little hints from our oaths, your Grace will see through my design upon you; and, I hope, will oblige us all by undertaking it. The common law papers will furnish your Grace with arguments of that kind. Could your Grace finish this, so that we might meet and settle it to-morrow, and perfect something of a preface before it, of inference upon it, *from my Lord of Bath and Wells's draught*; then we might communicate all this to some of our ablest advisers, and have it ready to present, if occasion require. We came home from Lambeth, four bishops, in my coach, and we could not but deplore our case

that we should disagree in anything, and such a thing as the world must needs observe. But their observing this and insulting thereupon, makes it the more necessary for us and our vindication to find out something in which we all can agree, and the world may take notice of our agreement. And I see nothing likely to unite us, and satisfy good men, who are now expecting and fixing their hopes, as well as eyes upon us, as the body to make the stand, but such a representation as I propose.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your most obedient and most obliged affectionate
Servant,

“ FRAN. ELY.”*

This “ draught from my Lord of Bath and Wells,” alluded to in the letter, was perhaps the paper, which we find in Turner’s hand-writing among Sancroft’s manuscripts in the Bodleian, headed,

“ *Previous Considerations of what method is best for the Bishops to use, in representing to the Prince of Orange their sense concerning the King and kingdom.*”

The paper is too long for insertion here: but the reasoning was against any address to the Prince, “ before some of us have seen his face, or endeavour’d to know of him what he intends to do:” it is rather in favour of publishing three Propositions, “ as if they were directed against the bold wild discourses, and apparent designs of our commonwealth-men, but without the least reflection upon the Prince, or his purposes.” The Propositions were,

“ *First—Against deposing the King.*

“ *Secondly—Against electing any other King.*

* Clarendon’s Appendix, p. 539 ; 330 in edit. of 1763.

"Thirdly—*Against breaking any one link in the royall chaine; i. e. any way intercepting the right succession to the imperial crown.*

"These Propositions should, in my judgment, bee drawne and taken from the very words either of our 39 *Articles*, or our *Liturgy*, or our *Rubricks*, or our *Canons*, or our *Homilys*, or our *Acts of Parliament* and *fundamental laws* of the land, or from our *Oaths and Tests* (which indeed are part of our law).

"And this paper of Propositions, with a short preface before it, or something after it, declaring our obligations to maintaine these doctrines, need be directed to no body, though intended, as for our owne vindication, so for every body's satisfaction one day, and for the Prince's presently, and most particularly. This paper should be delivered by one of us to Monsieur Benting, or some chiefe Minister, to be handed by him to his Highness, with as little noise and notice as may bee, and if such a representation dos not putt a stopp (as 'tis to be fear'd it will not), then it will be time enough, *and high time it will bee, for the Lords Spirituall, and those Temporall that will act conjoyntly with us, to oppose the common-wealth-men openly at the Convention.*" *

Various difficult questions were debated at Lambeth, as to the best method of maintaining the ultimate rights of the Crown, whilst they might provide for the present crisis. Evelyn says,

"I visited the Archbishop on the 15th, where I found the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and others. After prayers, and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed concerning the present state of the public; and sorry I was to find [from them] there was as yet no accord in the judgment of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene: some would

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. p. 320, 321. We have no evidence that the proposed paper was ever delivered to the Prince, or published.

have the Princess [of Orange] made Queen without any more dispute ; others were for a Regency : there was a Tory party (then so call'd) who were for inviting His Majesty again upon conditions ; and there were Republicans, who would make the P. of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties, to bring them into confusion ; most for ambition, or other interest, few for conscience, and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in the assembly of Bishops, who were pleas'd to admit me into their discourses ; they were all for a Regency, thereby to save their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Mj^{ty}'s name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting."*

Meanwhile the Prince, at Whitehall, maintained an impenetrable reserve as to his next movements : but his partizans were encouraged to prepare the public mind for his taking possession of the throne : they "marshall'd him the way that he was going," loudly proclaiming his virtues, and the debt of gratitude the nation owed him for their deliverance from tyranny and Popery. The press teemed with laudatory tracts, and arguments to prove his title to the Crown :

"The Prince of Orange, who had more interest than any in what was to follow, seemed the only person in England unconcerned amidst the universal ferment. He went little abroad : he was difficult of access. When access was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, listened with attention, but answered not ; and the few questions he asked seemed to proceed only from the common curiosity of a stranger. He even went a hunting, and dined at a private gentleman's house in the country, two days before the Convention was to

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 286.

take the great question of the settlement into consideration. In the whole of his behaviour he not only kept, but affected to show that he kept, his inclinations concerning the future measures of the Convention a mystery; either from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours."*

The Declaration of the Prince, before his landing, led the world to believe that he aimed at nothing beyond a Regency: it explicitly states that "he had no other view than to establish the lawful Government, according as a free Parliament should find necessary for the peace, honour, and safety of the Kingdom, so that there may be no more danger of its falling at any time hereafter under arbitrary government."† This is confirmed by his reference to the rights of the Princess, intimating that she was entitled to the succession after her father's death. Clarendon says, that on the 4th of December, at Salisbury, he was told by Monsr. Bentinck, the most confidential friend of the Prince, that "his Highness had acted in conformity with his Declaration throughout; though there are not evil men wanting, who give it out that the Prince aspires at the Crown, *which is the most wicked insinuation that could be invented*; that though three Kingdoms would be a great temptation to other men, yet it would appear, the Prince preferred his word before all other things in the world, and would pursue his Declaration, in endeavouring to settle all matters here upon a true

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 257.

† History of the Defection, p. 72.

foundation.”* And even so late as the 5th of January, 1689, “Burnet told the Bishop of St. Asaph, that the Prince was so far from ambition, that he would not take the title of King, though it should be offered him.”† It is certain that, before James withdrew from the kingdom, the great majority of the nobles and gentry, bishops and clergy, entertained no idea but towards a Regency: it was not until after the King had gone away, that William’s real designs upon the Crown began to develop themselves.

Jan. 22. On the 22nd of January, 1689, the Lords and Commons met in Convention at Westminster, to decide the great question of the monarchy. Never was there a day more important to the future interests of England. But there was one point on which Sancroft differed with his friends: he had made up his mind not to take his seat in the House of Lords. No doubt, the “*unwelcome importunities*,” alluded to in Turner’s letter, were the arguments by which he and Ken endeavoured to persuade him to this duty. Lord Clarendon, a few days later, dined at Lambeth, and “moved him, as earnestly as he could, to declare himself:”‡ again on the 21st, the day before the Houses were to meet, he and “most of the Bishops in town again pressed him; but he was obstinately resolved not to be there.”§ In this he persevered to the end. It was a great disappointment to the legitimists, that one who had so strong a hold on the reverence of the people, from his virtue, ability, and

* Henry Earl of Clarendon’s State Papers, Diary, &c., vol. ii. p. 101.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 138.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 146.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 152.

rank in the State, should appear to flinch, when his public avowal of the principles of allegiance might powerfully influence the questions at issue. They thought his presence would have turned the scale in the House of Lords, where the numbers were at first very evenly balanced. On the great question, whether William should be Regent or King, the latter was carried only by a majority of two;—fifty-one against forty-nine. Perhaps the Archbishop, doubting the legality of the Convention, and foreseeing the result of the debates, was unwilling by his presence, as Primate, to give even a shadow of pretence for saying that, having shared in them, he was bound by the act of the majority.

Thus he lost the opportunity, which now offered, of boldly placing himself at the head of the party who advocated a Regency. Inflexibly honest, and conscientious, as he was,—utterly incapable of any mean compliance for personal objects, pious, learned, and sagacious, he yet proved deficient in active courage, and unequal to the emergency. His principles of *Passive Obedience* sprang from a nobler source than a timorous nature,—but they were suitable to it: and now, having determined against the claims of the Prince, he contented himself with the subordinate policy of *Passive Resistance*. This was more accordant with the habitual lassitude and caution of an old man in his 73rd year, than the embarrassments of a political conflict.

Ken, on the other hand, is recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords to have been present on each day without a single omission. He voted on all the

questions; but took no part in the debates.* His friend, Turner of Ely, was among the most forward and earnest speakers, especially in managing the conferences between the Lords and Commons, when they differed. Their first act was an Order for a public thanksgiving to Almighty God for having made the Prince of Orange the gracious instrument of the great deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power. They afterwards concurred in an address to him, as the "glorious instrument, next to God, of so great a blessing," and requested him to continue the government of all public affairs, which he had hitherto so prudently conducted. The Bishops were requested to frame appropriate prayers for the day of thanksgiving.† A vote of thanks was passed unanimously

* On the 22nd of January, 1689, Ken acquiesced in the unanimous Address to the Prince, confirming to him the administration of affairs and disposal of the revenue;—on the 29th, he joined in the Declaration, "that it was found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety, and welfare of the Protestant Religion, to be governed by a Popish Prince;"—but he voted in the minority for a Regency;—on the 31st, he opposed the Resolution of the Commons, declaring the throne to be vacant;—on the 4th of February, when this was again proposed, he voted against it;—on the 6th, after a long conference between the two Houses, he opposed the Declaration that the King had abdicated, and that the throne was thereby vacant;—and also the Resolution, that William and Mary should be King and Queen. Leave being then given to any Lords to enter their Dissent, he joined thirty-six other Peers in a Protest against this dethronement; among the names of the Bishops we find twelve Dissentients, of whom only five afterwards persevered in refusing the Oath of Allegiance.—On the four subsequent days, the 8th, 9th, 11th, and 12th, he voted against Resolutions for declaring William and Mary King and Queen,—the new oaths, and other measures naturally flowing from these. The 12th of February was the last time he attended in Parliament. *Journals of the House of Lords, 1688-9, vol. xiv. pp. 101 to 127.*

† The persons concerned in the office [*i.e.* the Form of Prayer] were

to the Clergy of the Church of England, who had preached and written against Popery, had refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, and had opposed the Ecclesiastical Commission. Thus William was justified by the voice of the nation, which declared him to be their deliverer.

The Convention continued to deliberate until the 12th of February: both Houses were engaged in lengthened debates, conflicting proposals, amendments, and conferences,—whether the King had “*deserted*” or “*abdicated*,” whether the Throne was thereby “*vacant*,” and whether William should be only Regent, or be invested with full sovereignty. All this time the Prince lived in seclusion at St. James’s. His pride

eleven Bishops—Compton, Sprat, Lloyd [of Norwich], Turner, Lake, Frampton, Ken, White, Barlow, Trelawney, and Lloyd [of St. Asaph], six of whom were afterwards non-jurors. One of the prayers says; “We give glory to Thy holy name for our deliverance from the intolerable yoke of the Romish Church.” A second says; “It was because Thy compassions failed not, that our Holy Reformed Religion was not overwhelmed with Popish Superstition and Idolatry.” * * “Blessed be Thy name, Who hast raised up for us a mighty Deliverer, by whom Thou hast wrought this great salvation.” A few days after, the same Prelates, by a second order of the House, composed a particular prayer to be said daily for his Highness, the Prince of Orange, which begins thus; “Almighty God, who, in times of trouble and danger, dost raise up Deliverers of Thy people, we beseech Thee to bless his Highness, the Prince of Orange, whom Thou hast sent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion. Protect his person, strengthen his hands, &c.” Echard’s *Hist. of the Revolution*, 8vo, p. 233. Macaulay says, “An office had been drawn up for the occasion [of the thanksgiving] by several Bishops, among whom were Ken and Sprat. It is perfectly free both from the adulation, and from the malignity by which such compositions were in that age too often deformed, and sustains, better perhaps than any occasional service which has been framed during two centuries, a comparison with that great model of chaste, lofty, and pathetic eloquence, the Book of Common Prayer.” Macaulay’s *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 637.

and independence could not stoop to win the Crown by courtly arts, for which, indeed, he was very little qualified by his inflexible temper, and distant manners. He well knew the dilemma in which the country stood; and he was resolved to leave them no alternative between making him King, or the recall of James. This latter he had no occasion to fear: he beheld the vast majority of the nation already exulting in their escape from thralldom. The last acts of the King, even in the moment of departure, had shown his firm attachment to the Roman faith; and what could the chief leaders in the Revolution expect from so arbitrary a monarch, but a severe retribution, if he should ever return at the head of a French army?

William's decision of character was not likely to waver at the end of his triumphant march through the heart of the kingdom. The confident leader of confederate kings, accustomed through life to surmount difficulties, now clearly determined his own path amid the irresolute counsels of a Parliament, bound to him by an acknowledgment of his services. As he had so largely staked his reputation and safety on a mature calculation of the chances, he was not disposed to yield the game, when it was in his own hands. The Houses had been nearly a fortnight in debate: he was resolved no longer to brook this delay, and doubtful balancing of the future. He sent, therefore, to some of the Lords who had invited him over: he told them plainly he did not wish to interfere in their measures; but he would have it understood that he did not mean to be Regent of England: he had rather go back with his army to Holland. He

would be nothing less than King. He was even anxious that the Princess should be only Queen Consort, and the executive power vested exclusively in himself. This was too much to endure: there was something un-English in the idea of dispossessing Mary of her birthright. After all he was but a foreigner,—and the nation, though largely his debtor, loved their own Princess, from whom alone he derived any title to interfere. The Houses were prepared to give him the joint sovereignty with herself, and to leave the executive in his hands: a concession beyond which they would not go. This led to a compromise; and it was at length agreed, that they should be King and Queen during their joint lives, and that the sole sovereignty should devolve to the survivor;—William to exercise the regal power in his own name, and that of Mary. On the 13th of February both Houses of the Convention attended in the Banqueting-room at Whitehall, and, in the name of the whole estate of England, solemnly conferred the Crown upon William and Mary. Sancroft, Ken, and their adherents were, of course, absent.*

Practically, the settlement of the nation could not have been accomplished under a Regency; for this would have implied a limit of duration. If William were to govern with effect, it could only be as King. The same authority that bestowed the Regency might

* Before they withdrew from the House, they moved the Lords for a Bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehension, drawn and offered by the Earl of Nottingham, for which he received the thanks of the House. Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Time*, p. 530. Carwithin's *Hist. of the English Church*, vol. ii. p. 575. Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*.

at any time withdraw it on some specious pretext. The machinery of such a government could not have held together under the pressure of contending factions: it would have had no lasting strength, if subject to the breath of popular feeling, which is always uncertain, and, especially in England, liable to sudden changes. William was at once too sagacious, and too independent, to submit to any such hazard. At the very best he was entering on a task of much intricacy and toil: nothing but the strong prerogatives of the Crown, founded on ancient law and usage, could have controlled a jealous House of Commons on the one hand, and on the other a proud aristocracy, at all times divided into parties, and forward to claim a large share in power and influence. Even after he became king, he was so harassed and chagrined by the contests of Whig and Tory factions, of enthusiasts for a Republic, and partizans of James, that he more than once formed the project of returning to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people who were neither to be conciliated, nor coerced. As Regent he could never have retained a power, the basis of which must have been the personal attachment of the people,—for he possessed none of the winning qualities that would permanently reconcile a jealous nation to a foreign rule. He exhibited, therefore, a sound judgment in refusing the government with any such limits, or conditions annexed to it.

The Convention, in conferring the Crown upon William, did not neglect the opportunity to settle the bounds of the Royal prerogative, and to secure to the nation the full establishment of its religion, and

liberties. The Act, therefore, which established the sovereignty in William and Mary began with a recital of the arbitrary measures of James, contrary to the known laws, and statutes, and freedom of the Realm. It set forth a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS comprised in thirteen Articles, which must ever be considered a grand and noble work, the seal of our liberties, and a monument of the wisdom and patriotism of our ancestors. The very day this Act and Declaration were made, the Princess Mary arrived from Holland, and was received by all ranks with every mark of affection. William had delayed her coming, until he saw that his path to the throne was clear of every difficulty. This is an additional proof, that he would have carried out his threat of returning to Holland, rather than accept the Regency.

It is due to his active and sagacious genius to say, that every measure, in preparing and carrying out his designs, was so adapted to the end in view, so well timed, and so fortified against every contingency, as to establish his claim to a masterly political foresight. He is entitled to the merit of having, by his judicious and moderate conduct, his courage, and secrecy, prevented the long train of evils which usually accompany a forced change of dynasty. He presents a rare instance of an aspiring invader, controlling every event, yet seeming to submit the exercise of his power to the will of those he meant to govern. Landing on a foreign shore, with a force very insufficient to dethrone a king in command of a much larger army than his own, he threw himself with entire confidence amidst a brave people, who had for years been engaged in obstinate

and successful wars with his own countrymen : and now, by plausible appeals to their prejudices, and by adapting his whole conduct to their known character and needs, he at once roused them to a deeper sense of the wrongs they had suffered, and convinced them that he was the only proper and effectual instrument of their deliverance.

He induced them to believe that he claimed nothing for himself,—aimed at no conquest,—desired no other title than that of mediator between them, and their deluded king. He prudently refrained from every act which they did not themselves appear to prompt. Their outraged religion and laws were the theme on which he dilated : he offered them his sympathy, and his aid, in securing to them a just and legal government, desiring only, in return, that they should rightly appreciate his motives, and give him the meed of their approval. In the name of his “ beloved consort,” an English Princess, he claimed the confidence of the nation, with whose interests he was identified : he expressed no passion but the love of liberty, which he had successfully vindicated in his own country ; and in the same cause he was now ready to hazard, as in the face of Europe, his person and good name.

Although William must be considered in the light of a successful usurper, we may yet remember that his usurpation secured to England the free exercise of her religious and civil rights. If he violated the first principles of the moral law in dethroning a sovereign, who had a natural claim to his obedience and duty, it was the general voice of the nation itself that sanctioned his crime. He was false to his own Declara-

tion, which disclaimed any desire to seize the Crown : but when he attained it, he exercised his power with moderation.

Many learned works have been written on the abstract principles of government, involved in the history of this period ;—the divine right of kings, the law of nature, the original compact between prince and people, the obligation of kings to conform to their oaths, the right of forcible resistance to the tyranny of rulers, passive obedience, the effect of an abdication on the rights of a legitimate heir, born at the time, have been variously discussed. Great authorities might be quoted, as advocates on either side. But the fate of kingdoms, and of people, in times of emergency, does not depend on fine-drawn theories of government. The prejudices and passions, the interests and resolves of men have ever swept away all such restraints : practically, whether right or wrong, necessity imposes her own law. This at least may be said, that in England the causes of confusion, if traced to their source, will generally be found to lie with the existing rulers, or their predecessors. Such undoubtedly was the case in the Revolution of 1688.



CHAPTER XX.

Ken, and other Bishops, refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary—Act of Parliament for their suspension and deprivation—Question of Passive Obedience—Ken's consistent Conduct—The Non-juring Bishops publish a Vindication of themselves.



HE life of Ken, if not unchequered, had hitherto been one of continued and advancing usefulness in the several offices of the Church ; the world smiled upon him, honoured his piety, admired his eloquence, and loved him for his charities. Henceforward his character is to be viewed under a new aspect. He was misunderstood, misrepresented, forced into retirement and poverty : “ suffering deprivation ” (to use his own words) “ not only of honour, but of income ; sufficiently ridiculed, and exposed to the world as a man of no conscience, particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable.”* Still, the inner man was unchanged ;—in every act we find the same simple unobtruding spirit, and averfeness to contention, combined with an undaunted firmness that could not bate one jot of integrity, or conviction.

His future path was to be more difficult, because

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 35.

every step was beset with perplexing questions of personal consistency, which to a sensitive mind are deeply anxious;—more responsible, because it tended to separate him from the great body of the English Church, which he so much loved, as the ordained instrument, and channel of the true worship of God. Having joined in the last struggle in the House of Lords to maintain the rights of the King, he was soon called to decide a point, on which would depend the whole tenor of his after life. On the accession of James to the throne all the Bishops had sworn, as in the presence of God, that he was the rightful King, and that they would bear true faith to him, and his heirs:—a pledge imposed by Parliament. The same power now required them to forego this oath, and by a given day to swear, with equal solemnity, that they would hold allegiance to William and Mary, who had thrust James from his throne. This, if oaths have any meaning, was sufficient to raise serious scruples of conscience.

Thus Ken found himself in a strait between opposing difficulties. No doubt the late King had violated his coronation oath, that he would maintain unimpaired the Church of England,—to Ken the most sacred of all things upon earth. On the faith of that oath he, and all the Clergy, had sworn allegiance to him. Had not James broken this mutual compact? Ken himself had joined in thanks to the Prince, as the instrument of their deliverance from Popery:—he had assisted in drawing up an Office of thanksgiving to God, who had sent William, as “*a mighty Deliverer, by whom this great salvation was wrought* :”—

same views,—and about four hundred of the Clergy out of ten thousand. When the holders of offices ecclesiastical, civil and military, were turned out, because they could not conscientiously swear fealty to William, it was natural they should call in question the motives of all who were willing to take the Oath, and their *places*. On the other hand, those who could adopt a new allegiance, and so stepped in, justified themselves by loudly charging the non-jurors with a factious spirit, and a leaning to Popery. The motives of each, however honest they might be, were distorted by their opponents;—mutual accusations embittered the feelings of both parties. This question,—*to swear or not to swear* allegiance—was one of no limited interest; its import was practically significant and general: it touched all ranks, from the king to his lowest pensioner,—from the Archbishop, and Secretary of State, to the petty officer of every vestry, and the beef-eater in the Tower. Every county, each town and parish, was to furnish forth its respective number of men who had sworn allegiance to James,—many of whom were indebted to him for their places,—but all must now forget their recent oaths, and swear to William, or resign.

As every man's conscience is a monitor peculiar to himself, we might expect to find some curious speci-

so committed himself in slavish obsequiousness to the ruling powers in the Rebellion,—after the Restoration, and during the reign of James, that his only refuge from the general obloquy of his countrymen was the King's household at St. Germain's;—and even there he was held in low esteem. See Grainger's *Biog. Hist. of England*, edit. 1804, vol. iv. p. 294.

mens of the varied way in which it prompted the holders of good places to act. Many put their consciences into the keeping of the magistrates, who opened the door wide enough for all who were willing to come in, not being very nice as to the expressed reservations which they allowed; others submitted their scruples, and their guidance, to the Clergy, who for the most were very lenient confessors, and set the example of conformity. Some were honest yet meek, others stubborn and scrupulous, non-jurors from beginning to end: some gave up their places, and yet took the oaths, which they could do without imputation of dishonesty; some, after refusing the oaths, and losing their places in consequence, were willing to take them, when it was too late: others, again, after taking them, repented, published penitential Retractions,* renounced the oaths, and vacated their seats. In short, conscientious resistance proved itself weak, and honest compliance vacillating: all which called forth alternate plaudits or reproaches, as best suited the theories, interests, or prejudices of the lookers-on.

Innumerable were the pamphlets, sermons, and books of controversy that issued from the press, to prove the legal obligation to take the new oath; and many were the arguments, reservations, limits, and justifying pleas, under which most of the Clergy, and laity were readily permitted, and even persuaded so to do. The greater number took the oath, on the ground that James had vacated, and forfeited the throne; many con-

* Life of John Kettlewell, 8vo, 1718, p. 367: and it's Appendix, p. xlix.

sidered that by divine and human law allegiance was due to a King in actual possession ; some were brought to acquiesce on the lower ground of living peaceably and quietly ; others considered it as a temporary oath, subject to recall, if ever James should recover his kingdom. All this the Non-juring Bishops thought to be indefensible : it was contrary to their sense of plain dealing and they were content to suffer for the truth. It might be hard to make the world believe they acted only from religious motives : that was but of secondary importance ; they resolved at all hazards to witness a good confession of what they thought right.

As the great bulk of the nation in numbers, influence, and wealth were willing to complete the work of the Revolution by taking the oaths, it might be thought a very little matter to the Government whether the rest concurred, or not ; but the fact was otherwise. All ranks of people felt a generous sympathy in the fate of the Bishops, who had so manfully withstood the late King's illegal acts. Parliament had recognized by an unanimous vote of thanks * the value of

* The terms, in which these thanks were expressed by the Commons, are,

"Vote of Thanks from the House of Commons to the Clergy of the Church of England.

"Resolved nemine contradicente, That the thanks of this House be given to the Clergy of the Church of England, who have preached and written against Popery, and refused to read (in their Churches) the King's Declaration for Toleration, in opposition to the pretended dispensing power, claimed in the late reign of King James the II^d : And have opposed the illegal Ecclesiastical Commission.

"Ordered, That Mr. Leveson Gower, and Mr. Auditor Done doe attend the two Archbishops with the sayd resolve, to the end their

their courage in maintaining the public rights. It was felt, that in their resistance to Popery they had acted as true Englishmen, heartily devoted to their country.

Their inflexible adherence, in the former reign, to the faith they professed would have rendered them illustrious in any age: for what stronger testimony could men bear to the truth than to suffer imprisonment, as they had done, and incur the danger of deprivation, if not a worse fate, under a tyrant, backed by corrupt judges, and an irresistible military power? Their present scruples were known to be founded on a sense of duty, to which, as before, they were now again prepared to sacrifice their worldly interests. It was impossible not to admire such an example of fortitude, however men might differ as to the necessity for it. They were bright ornaments of the Church: and the Church of England is dear to Englishmen;—and ever will be, whatever their rulers, or sectarians, or seceders, may think: it wants only occasions, which may bring her into danger, to prove this. She may yet have to sustain the assaults of an Erastian power, that would fain subject her to a Parliamentary rule; but she bears an indestructible life; for she is founded upon a rock,—and that Rock is Christ.

William, too, remembered the courageous endurance of these Bishops at the critical moment, on which the success of his own projects so greatly depended. Their present conduct, though opposed to his views, commanded his respect. We have several examples of

Graces may communicate the same to the Clergy in their respective provinces.

“PAUL JODRELL, C. D. C.”

Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 446.

his forbearance and magnanimity, in forgiving acts of treachery, even where he might have looked for a faithful attachment : he was not likely to be wanting in the same spirit towards men, who openly refused to serve him from a regard to conscience. Above all, it was his interest to conciliate every class : he knew the popularity of these eminent men, and desired, by a judicious act of grace, to secure their influence. It is true, he had no reverence for prelacy, which he abolished in Scotland, though he desired to maintain it in England. Yet, he had a sincere love for religious freedom ; and if he could obtain a repeal of the Test, and the admission of all Protestants, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, to offices of trust, he would willingly dispense with the oaths of the Bishops. He endeavoured to attain both these objects by clauses in the Bill for settling the new oaths. It was proposed, that the Bishops should be relieved from taking them, unless tendered by the King in Council, which would both satisfy their consciences, and give him an effectual restraint on their conduct, if at any time they should interrupt the peace of his government. This project was frustrated by the mutual animosity of parties in the two houses ; the Tories would not abandon the Test to relieve the Dissenters : the Whigs retaliated by rejecting the clauses in favour of the Bishops. The only boon obtained was an authority to the Crown to reserve for their use one third part of their revenues, after they were deprived.* The Act was finally

* The words of the clause are, " Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it be left to the King to allow, to such of the Clergy as shall refuse the Oaths prescribed by this Act, as he

passed,* requiring the Clergy to take the Oath by the 1st of August, 1689, on pain of suspension from their offices: if they continued to refuse till the 1st of February, 1690, they were to be absolutely deprived. Feb. 23.

The news of this measure having passed reached Ken in his Diocese, where he had been engaged, as usual, in the calm and zealous exercise of his pastoral duties. It made no change in his views or conduct. He considered the day of death, and the day of judgment, to be as certain as the 1st of August, and the 1st of February, and acted accordingly:† his account was to be rendered to a higher than any earthly tribunal. The civil power might alienate the temporalities of his See; but could not annul his spiritual office. It is true, that the Church, under the sanction of the State, is endowed with secular immunities, privileges, and revenues: these are temporal accessories, and may be withdrawn by the power which conferred them. The statute,‡ subjecting the Clergy to the King's authority, amongst other provisions, places the nomination of Bishops in his hands, and none can be chosen, or consecrated without his sanction: the State, which framed the Oath of Allegiance, to be taken by all English Bishops and Clergy, had equal right now to enforce a like security, or subject them to civil

shall think fit, not exceeding the number of twelve, an allowance out of their ecclesiastical benefices, or promotions, for their subsistence, not exceeding a third part, and to continue during his Majesty's pleasure, and no longer." 1st of William and Mary, Session 1st, ch. viii. sec. 16.

* Clarendon's State Letters and Diary, edit. 1763, vol. ii. p. 170.

† Defence of the Profession, &c., of Dr. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, 1690, p. 9.

‡ 25 Henry VIII., ch. xx. sec. 4, 7.

penalties; but it could never deprive them of their authority in the word and sacraments.

The State has no power to confer Holy Orders, neither can it suspend or abrogate them. What, indeed, is the suspension of their exercise but their virtual annulment? If the civil power is competent to do this in one country, it is so, in its degree, throughout the world; and then where are the Apostles, and all missions, where is the Church Catholic, until Constantine? The spiritual trust flows from a Commission above all earthly rule, and therefore inalienable by any other sentence than that of the Church. For secular offences the Clergy may be punished by the magistrate; for spiritual offences the Church alone, by due synodical act, can deprive Bishops of their spiritual office. This relationship of Church and State exists under well defined limits. It has for its object the maintenance of true religion, which most promotes the glory of God, and the welfare of all people. Neither the Crown, nor the Parliament, of England can enact articles of belief, nor even the ceremonials of religion, without consent of the Church in Convocation; nor can one, or both, repeal those sacred functions.

Ken, therefore, pursued his quiet course in the performance of his office, as far as he could, consistently with his principles: he consented to the filling up the vacant benefices, to some of which he had the right to present,* preached in his Cathedral, and adminis-

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 28; and Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 200 to 202. If he could not take the Oath himself, neither could

tered the Holy Communion. It is a remarkable proof of his candour, in allowing to others the exercise of an independent judgment, though contrary to his own, that of all the Clergy whom he preferred

he conscientiously administer it to any one else: and as this scruple would have prevented the benefices from being filled up, he "gave a particular commission to his Chancellor, who himself did not scruple it; so that he was authorized not only to institute, but to collate in his stead." Sancroft and the other non-juring Bishops did the same; and Burnet very reasonably objects against this, as "*a thing very inconsistent with their other actions, and which could not be easily reconciled to the rules of good conscience.*" All presentations are directed to Bishops, or to their Chancellors; but by a general agreement in the year 1660, the Bishops resolved to *except*, out of the Patents they gave to their Chancellors, the power of giving Institution into cures, which, before that, the Chancellors were empowered to give in the Bishop's absence. Now, the Bishops were bound to see that the clergy, before they gave them Institution, took the oaths to the government. In order, therefore, to decline the doing this, and yet avoid the actions of '*quare impedit*' that they would be liable to, if they did not admit the clerks presented to them, they gave new Patents to their Chancellors, empowering them to give Institution; which they knew could not be done but by tendering the Oaths. *So they gave authority to laymen to admit men to benefices, and to do that which they thought unlawful*, as was the swearing to an Usurper against the lawful King. Thus it appeared, how far the engagement of interest and parties can run men into contradictions." Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, 1839, p. 529. It is difficult to find a valid answer to this just remark. We must admit that it was a compromise of principle: had the Bishops refused to find an expedient, they would have been subject to a suit *in præmunire*. It is remarkable, that Sancroft was very near incurring this danger in the case of Burnet himself: for no sooner was William on the throne, than he nominated Burnet to the see of Salisbury, lately vacant by the death of Dr. Seth Ward. All the forms of the *congé-d'élire*, and his election, were carried through with despatch: but Sancroft refused to see him or to consecrate him, and for some days seemed determined to risk the *præmunire*.—"But as the danger came near, he prevented it, by granting a Commission to all the Bishops of his Province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his Metropolitcal authority during pleasure. Thus he did authorize others to consecrate me, while yet he seemed to think it an unlawful act." Ibid. p. 529.

to cures in his own right, before the Act had passed, only one was a Non-juror; and that, afterwards, he gave the only four benefices, to which he had the right of presentation, to four clergymen who had either already taken the Oaths, or did so, at their institution, to his own Chancellor.* So temperate were his views, that he was stated in one of the anonymous pamphlets of the day to have "been heard to declare that, although he could not satisfy his own scruples, yet he thought the English nation would be fools, if ever they suffered King James to return; and hence it was concluded that he heartily wished he could be of the same mind with the rest of his brethren."† This was disproved by a long life of voluntary suffering, which he might at any time have changed for his former state of honour and affluence. We never find him making loud avowals of general principles,‡ nor even entering into any public explanation of the reasons for his conduct, except once or twice, when some particular emergency compelled him; and then it was always in a few words of fact. He says in one of his letters, "I find it much easier silently to endure the passion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it." He was in friendly intercourse with Sancroft and the other non-juring Bishops, though we shall see, that he could not

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 185, 201, 202.

† *State Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 360.

‡ It was objected to the Non-jurors, that they had not thought fit to publish the grounds of their dissent from the judgment of the Convention. See "*An Examination of the Scruples of those who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance.*" 4to, 1689, p. 1.

entirely concur with them : and several of the Prelates who took the oaths endeavoured to persuade him to follow their example. From the former, he says, he “always dissented in some things, but without breach of friendship,” “endeavouring to act uniformly to the moderate sentiments, which he could not exceed :” * with the latter it was impossible he could agree ; though he gave them credit for acting conscientiously.

Two of his non-juring friends, Dr. William Thomas, of Worcester, and Dr. John Lake, of Chichester, were soon called away from the troubles that were gathering round them. We may form some notion of the resolute temper of Dr. Thomas from the following letter, written, apparently, to the Archbishop’s Chaplain, when James commanded the Declaration of Indulgence to be read in his diocese :

“ Worcester, June 3rd, 88.

“ Worthy Sir,

“ I thank you for your congratulating my recovery, which as yet is so very infirm I rather creepe than goe. I pray present my dutifully devoted observance to my Lord’s Grace of *Canterbury*. I pray God direct and prosper his steerage of the Church of *England* in these tempestuous times. In a cordial compliance with his Grace’s pious conduct in the late Petition presented to the King, I have retained in my custody the packet of the printed coppies of the Royal Declaration of Indulgence, which I could not transmitt to the Clergy of my Diocese, committed to my pastoral charge (*salvâ conscientiâ, salvo honore ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*) It is a piercing wounding affliction to me to incurre his Majesty’s displeasure,

* Round’s Prose Works of Ken, p. 56.

to be misinterpreted guilty of the least degree of disloyalty, or ingratitude (which my soul abhorres) towards my inexpressibly obliging master and benefactor, patron and sovereign, whose special Mandate I have received in the concerne of the Indulgence, imparted to me by the Lord Bishop of St. *David's*; wherein nothing could divert or slacken my entire submission and utmost conformity, *but my dread of the indignation of the King of Kings, to whom, being neare the brinke of the grave, I must shortly give an account of my managing of the episcopal station* (wherein God be mercifull to me). I apprehend it a duty incumbent on me, indispenfibly strict, to be a skreene to my Clergy, to endeavour to secure them from finnes and perills, not to lay traines for either, by recommending the publication of that to their parishioners, wherein my owne judgment is abundantly dissatisfyed, and theirs also.

"I resolve by God's gracious assistance to suffer the greatest temporal evil of distresse, rather than to act, or promote the least spiritual evil of guilt: I rest

"Your faithfull friend to serve you,

"W. WORCESTER." *

From this time his health gradually declined, and
 June 23. on the 23rd of June, 1689, having called Dr. Hickes, Dean of Worcester, to his bed side, he thus spoke to him;

"Mr. Dean,

"I was glad when I heard you was come home, for I longed to speak with you before I dyed; for I perceive that I have but a short time to live. I blefs God that I have *twice suffered in the same righteous cause,*[†] and it is time for me now

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 332.

† He suffered persecution, as a Loyalist, during the Rebellion: he had courage enough to read the Common Prayer, notwithstanding the disturbance of the Itinerant Preachers; and after he was sequestered from his Vicarage of Penrhyn in Cardiganshire, as a "*Malignant*," he

to dye, who have *outlived the honour of my religion, and the liberties of my country.* It hath been a great comfort to me in this general apostacy of my Clergy, whom I have endeavoured to keep upright and steady to their principles, that you have not forsaken me, but keep constant with me to the same principles. I have read all the books written for taking the oath; in which I find the authors more Jesuits than the Jesuits themselves: and if my heart deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, *I think I could burn at a stake before I took this new oath.* I pray God bless you, and reward your constancy. I desire your daily prayers."*

Ita Testor. GEORGE HICKES.

Very shortly afterwards, Dr. Lake of Chichester, a prelate greatly beloved for his virtues, expressed himself still more emphatically in his well-known death-bed Declaration, which has been characterized as "an appeal seldom equalled in solemnity and

taught a school for his livelihood, at Langhern, in Carmarthenshire. Salmon's *Lives of English Bishops*, 8vo, 1732, p. 361.

* Life of Kettlewell, compiled from the Collections of Dr. George Hickes, and Robert Nelson, Esq.; 8vo, 1718, p. 199. The author of this work (whoever he was?) relates that Dr. Thomas "was buried at Worcester a few days after he had given this Testimony, much lamented, his remains being deposited in the Cloyster of the Cathedral, not in the Church itself. The reason for which is given,—that he out of modesty, not thinking himself worthy to lye within the Church, over which in his life he had presided with so little success, as he thought (he attributing this to his own unworthiness, more than to any other cause whatsoever) had therefore chosen to be lain without, and at the door of the Church, as an humble Penitent, and a Candidate for a blessed eternity." Ibid. p. 201. George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, writing to Sancroft an account of the Bishop's death, says, "He was a great example of humility, meekness, devotion, and charity; and I beseech God to give me grace to follow his example, that I may be partaker with him of the promised reward. I wish it were in your Grace's power to recommend his successor, and then we should be sure of an Apostolicall man to fill his chaire." Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 61.

dignity of mind :* Few, if any, enjoyed more of the confidence of Sancroft than Dr. Lake, on account of his vigilance and activity in his diocese. He was a man of indomitable fortitude. In the Rebellion, before he was in Orders, he served with distinction as a foldier in the army of Charles I. Having escaped from prifon at Cambridge, he went to the King at Oxford,—was one of the brave garrifon at Bafing Houfe,—afterwards joined the befieged in Wallingford,—and during Cromwell's rule fuffered many hardships. We have feen, that he was one of the feven Bifhops fent to the Tower by James; and his biographer† relates, that “his coming to the Gentlemen of the County of Suffex, after his trial, was like the return from banifhment of St. Athanafius, or St. Chryfoftom.”

Aug. 27. *The Declaration of the Right Reverend Father in God, John late Lord Bifhop of Chichefter, upon his Death-bed :*

“Being called by a fick (and I think a dying) bed, and the good hand of God upon me in it, to take the laft and beft *Viaticum*, the Sacrament of my dear Lord's body and blood, I take myfelf obliged to make this fhort recognition and profefion :

“That, whereas I was baptized into the religion of the Church of England, and fucked it in with my milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole courfe of my life; and now, if fo be the will of God, fhall dye in it: and *had*

* Hiftory of Western Suffex (City of Chichefter, p. 92), by the Rev. James Dallaway.

† Dr. Robert Jenkin, author of “A Defence of the Profefion which the Right Reverend Father in God, John, late Lord Bifhop of Chichefter, made upon his Death-bed: concerning Paffive Obedience, and the New Oaths. Together with an Account of fome paffages in his Lordfhip's Life.” 4to, 1690.

resolved, through God's grace assisting me, to have dyed so, though at a stake. And, whereas the religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of NON-RESISTANCE, and PASSIVE-OBEDIENCE, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England,—I adhere no less firmly and steadfastly to that; and in consequence of it have incurred *Suspension* from the exercise of my office, and expected a *Deprivation*. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction; *and if the Oath had been tendered at the peril of my life, I could only have obeyed by suffering:*

“I desire you, my worthy friends and brethren, to bear witness to this upon occasion, and to believe it, as the words of a dying man, and who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with God in this world, and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal.

“Aug. 27. 1689.

“*Manu propria subscripsi,*

“JO. CICESTRENSIS.”*

“*This Declaration was read, and subscribed by the Bishop, in the presence of*

Dr. Green, the Parish Minister, who administered

Dr. Hickes, Dean of Worcester

Mr. Jenkin, his Lordship's Chaplain

Mr. Powell, his Secretary

Mr. Wilfon, his Amanuensis,

Who all communicated with him.”

We cannot say how these two devoted men, had they lived, would have acted in the after differences of the Non-jurors: but their last words spoke the mind of Ken, in their resolve against the Oath, and their at-

* Dr. Jenkin's Defence of the Profession, which the Right Rev. late Lord Bishop of Chichester made upon his Death-bed, &c. 1690, p. 11.

tachment to the Church of England, to which he afterwards bore equal testimony, by twenty years of patient endurance in the same cause. These death-bed avowals, being at once published, added yet more intensity to the disputes, already so rife: they were thought to be a direct reproach on those who had taken the Oath, and called forth the whole pamphleteering forces of the press, which teemed with a phalanx of Animadversions, Defences, Sermons, and Letters from all sides.

In viewing this difficult question of *Passive-obedience* and *Non-resistance*, we should bear in mind, that they were avowed principles in theology and politics, not in England only, or during the reign of the Stuarts, but throughout the universal Church: they were believed to be a practical Christian duty, inculcated by the law of the Gospel. Endurance of wrongs, forbearance, gentleness, peace, subjection to the powers that be, are eternal laws of the Cross, and as such, bound upon all men, lay or clerical. But beyond this, it was an essential tenet, almost universally received in England after the Rebellion. A specific oath, enforcing the doctrine, had been incorporated into several Acts of Parliament in the reign of Charles II.* and, so late as 1675, the House of Lords passed a Bill, making it imperative on every one, invested with office, to take an oath, which was called the "Oath of Abhorrence against the traitorous position of taking arms against the King."†

The principle of *Passive-obedience*, whether right

* Rapin, vol. ii. pp. 628, 629.

† Ibid. p. 677.

or wrong, was recognized, not by the Clergy only, and by the Homilies of the Church of England, but by the Lords and Commons, and all estates of the realm. It was, in fact, a political maxim, highly in fashion after the Restoration of the monarchy,—a recoil from the republican theories, which had gained head under Cromwell. It exemplified the sudden extremes which will find expression, when the body politic is smarting under recent wounds. Viewed with proper restrictions, it is a wholesome principle of government,—taken without limits, it is utterly untenable. Sancroft by his own conduct had proved it impracticable on a sudden emergency: when James fled from London, he hurried into the city, and agreed with the Council of Peers in desiring the Prince of Orange, then at the head of an invading army, to take measures for the safety of the kingdom. He and Ken, and the other Bishops, were willing to concur in a Regency, though it would have been an unquestionable blow against the prerogative, and an abandonment of the abstract principle of Passive-obedience. To what *precise limits* Ken professed this doctrine, we are not told: in a letter to Burnet, he says, “it was a point with which I very rarely meddled.”* When James was at the height of his power, Ken manfully opposed his illegal acts; but afterwards, when the principle of obedience was altogether cried down, and he might have retained his Bishopric by absolving himself from it, he could not alter his opinion of its binding force.

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 33.

To show how easy it was for men to disavow, when it was unpopular, the doctrine they had upheld, when it was in fashion, we need only point to the cases of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. When William Lord Russell was condemned in 1683 for the Rye House Plot, Tillotson was Dean of Canterbury, and attended him to the scaffold. During his previous visits to him in the Tower, he found that Lord Russell, in his love of truth, preferred to die a martyr to his principles of liberty, rather than acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance, which he did not hold. It was thought, if he yielded this point, Charles would grant him a pardon: but Russell was immovable. The Dean, on the other hand, held that the Christian religion plainly forbids the resistance of authority:—as one of Lord Russell's spiritual comforters, he thought it essential to his true repentance, before death, to acknowledge this. Russell had received the Holy Communion in a calm and devout temper; but Tillotson, under the apprehension that his peace of mind was not well grounded, wrote him a letter, as more calculated to influence his deliberate thoughts than a transient discourse:

“The law,” he says, “which establishes our religion declares, *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms,*” &c.: “the law of nature, and the general rules of Scripture, tie the hands of subjects: because the government and peace of society could not well subsist, if they were left at liberty: *this is the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches.* And I beg your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of the Protestants. My end in this is to convince your Lordship, that *you are in a very great and*

dangerous mistake, and being so convinced, that which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, *but prevent a mighty scandal to the reformed religion.*"*

If Tillotson's creed, under the Stuarts, was grounded on "this law of nature, the rules of Scripture, the Christian religion, and the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches," what became of King William's title to the Crown, founded on *an usurpation which overthrew them all*? But when James was driven from the throne, the Dean was to be Archbishop of Canterbury: that could never have been, unless he yielded up his principles of Non-resistance, which he accordingly did.

The same change had come over the political vision of Burnet. In the time of Charles II., when the Stuarts were in power, the Doctor was a champion for Passive-obedience;† but when it became convenient

* Birch's Life of Tillotson, fol. pp. 109, 110.

† Among the Rawlinson MSS., in the Bodleian, there is a letter from Burnet to Compton, of London, dated 30th of July, 1683, and enclosing Lord Russell's Declaration in the Tower on the point of Non-resistance. This paper is clear evidence of the arguments which Tillotson, and Burnet had used to persuade him to the acknowledgment of the doctrine of Passive-obedience:

"For my part, I cannot deny, but that I have been of opinion, that a free nation like this might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded, and taken from them, tho' under pretence and colour of law. *But some worthy and eminent Divines, who have had the charity to be often with me, and whom I value and esteem to a very great degree, have offered me weighty reasons to persuade me, that faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion, and that the method*

to wear the Orange scarf, and to be made Bishop of Salisbury, he was a very Knight errant against every comer who should uphold that principle. No doubt Ken had an eye to both these Prelates when he wrote thus to Burnet; "*many persons of our own coat, for several years together preached up Passive-obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary.*"*

There is no ground for denying to Tillotson and Burnet the right of adopting new opinions; only let our good Bishop, and his suffering Brethren, enjoy an equal liberty of conscience in maintaining theirs unchanged, at the sacrifice of every worldly advantage. And let the truth be understood, that Passive-obedience was the rule, not the exception, in the previous reigns.

But to return to the Oath of Allegiance; there were moments when Ken had misgivings, as to the correctness of his own views in rejecting the new Oath. This may serve to exemplify the difficulty of the question, and the candour of his mind, which did not obstinately disregard the reasons to be adduced on the other side. The deeds of fearful cruelty perpetrated in Ireland by James, and the assistance of armed forces sent by Louis, caused a report to be spread that he had by a special instrument given over that country to France.

of the Gospel is rather to suffer persecution, than to use resistance. But if I have sinned in this, I hope God will not lay it to my charge; since He knows 'twas only a sin of ignorance."

"*He said he could go no farther, without telling a ly; and so all was dashed out.*" Rawlinson MSS., C. 983. fol. 61.

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 33.

This, for a moment, made Ken waver: he thought such an act would for ever dissolve the bond of union between the King and all his subjects. It appears, by the admission of Hawkins, that at this particular juncture he showed some "*want of a steady conduct*,"* which is explained in a letter, addressed to him by Burnet, and in Ken's answer. From these we gather, that there *might have been certain circumstances, which would have induced him to change his mind*: and if so, might not other persons reasonably claim, in such a confused conflict of arguments, the same liberty, and a considerate allowance of honest motives for doing what *he, in that case, would have done*?

"Sarum, Oct. 1.

"My Lord,

"This Gentleman, who is presented to a living in your Lordship's Diocese, came to me to receive institution; but I have declined the doing of it, and so have sent him over to your Lordship, that you, being satisfied with relation to him, may order your Chancellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold on this occasion to let your Lordship know, that I intend to make no other use of the Commission that was sent me, than to obey any orders you may send me in such things as my Hand and Seal may be necessary. I am extremely concerned to see your Lordship so unhappily possessed with that, which is likely to prove so fatal to the Church, *if we are deprived of one that has served in it with so much honour as you have done*, especially at such a time when there are fair hopes of the reforming of several abuses. I am the more amazed to find your Lordship so positive, because some have told my self, that you had advised them to take that which you

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 27.

refuse your self;* and others have told me, that they read a Pastoral Letter which you had prepared for your Diocese, and were resolv'd to print it, when you went to *London*. Your Lordship, it seems, chang'd your mind there, which gave great advantages to those who were so severe as to say, that there was somewhat else than conscience at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this freely to your Lordship; for I do not deny, that I am in some pain till I know whether it is true, or not. I pray God prevent a new breach in a Church, which has suffered so severely under the old one.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's most faithful Servant and Brother,

“ GI. SARUM.”

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ Oct. 5, 1689.

“ My Lord,

“ I am obliged to your Lordship, for the continued concern you express for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleas'd to take with me; and though I have already in publick fully declared my mind to my Diocese concerning the Oath, to prevent my being misunderstood; yet, since you seem to expect it of me, I will give such an account, which if it does not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy my self. I dare assure you, *I never advis'd any one to take the Oath*; tho' some, who came to talk insidiously with me, may have rais'd such a report. So far have I been from it, *that I never wou'd administer it to any one person, whom I was to col- late*. And therefore, before the Act took place, I gave a

* We find this misrepresentation credited some years afterwards; for Lady Russell, writing to her old friend and spiritual correspondent, Dr. Fitzwilliam, on the 17th May, 1696, says, “I am sure the Bishop of Bath and Wells excited others to comply, when he could not bring himself to do so, but rejoiced that others could.” *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell*, edit. 1801, p. 321.

particular commiffion to my Chancellor, who himfelf did not fcuple it; fo that he was authoriz'd, not only to inftitute, but alfo to collate in my ftead. If any came to difcourfe with me about taking the Oath, I ufually told them, I durft not take it my felf. I told them my reafons, if they urged me to it, and were of my own Diocefe: and then remitted them to their ftudy, and prayers for farther directions. 'Tis true, *having been fcandaliz'd at many perfons of our own coat, who for feveral years together, preach'd up paffive-obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, it being a fubject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a fudden, without the leaft acknowledgment of their paft error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary;* I did prepare a pastoral letter, which, if I had feen reafon to alter my judgment, I thought to have publifh'd; at leaft that part of it, on which I laid the greateft ftrefs, to juftify my conduct to my flock: and before I went to *London*, I told fome of my friends, that if* THAT prov'd true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable affurance, (and which I think more proper for difcourfe than a letter) it would be an inducement to me to comply; but when I came to town, I found it was falfe; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adher'd to my former opinion. If this is to be called change of mind, and a change fo criminal, that people who are very difcerning, and know my own heart better than my felf, have pronounc'd fentence upon me, that there is fomething elfe than confcience at the bottom,—I am much afraid, that fome of thefe who cenfure me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that; whether more confcientious or no, God only is the Judge. If your Lordfhip gives credit to the many mifrepresentations which are made of me, *and which I being fo us'd to, can eafily dif-*

* “The Bifhop was about this time confidently affured, that King James had by fome fpecial inftrument made over the kingdom of Ireland to the French King.” Note to Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 33.

regard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me : for to see one of your brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars, out of which may be fram'd an idea very deplorable. But tho' I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuse my self of any insincerity ; so that Deprivation will not reach my conscience, *and I am in no pain at all for my self*. I perceive, that after we have been sufficiently ridicul'd, the last mortal stab design'd to be given us is, to expose us to the world for men of no conscience ; and if God is pleas'd to permit it, His most Holy will be done ; though what that particular passion of corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant such reproaches as these may not revert on the authors. I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church ; and I shall conceive great hopes, that God will have compassion on her, *if I see that she compassionates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace, and that charity, I my self can only contribute to, both by my prayers, and by my deprecations, against schism, and against sacrilege.*

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's very faithful Servant and Brother,

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS.” *

Ken's letter exhibits the moral habit of his mind, a simple courage, ready for every trial in the line of his duty,—“ *in no pain at all for himself*,”—a tender conscience, and willingness to retract any erroneous opinions,—a candid regard for the honest scruples of others who might differ from him. A comparison of

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, pp. 28 to 37.

this correspondence with his letter to Sancroft of the 24th November, 1688,* and with Burnet's History, will show how unfairly the historian represents the conduct of the Bishop, when he says,

"Ken was a man of a warm imagination; and at the time of the King's [William's] first landing he declared heartily for him, and advised all the Gentlemen that he saw to go, and join him."†

This was untrue,—for Ken, hearing that William, on his march towards London, had seized all the horses near to Wells, carried off his own horses, and retired, so that no one might doubt his firm adherence to James; and he requested the Archbishop to tender his humble duty to his Majesty, for whose safety and success he offers up his prayers to Heaven.

Burnet, "who never does these things by halves, goes roundly to work in the following terms:"‡

"But during the debates in the Convention, Ken went with great heat into the notion of a Prince Regent. And now, upon the call of the House, he withdrew into his diocese. He changed his mind again, and wrote a paper, persuading the Clergy to take the Oaths, which he showed to Dr. Whitby, who read it, as the Doctor has told me often. His Chaplain, Dr. Eyre, did also tell me, that he came with him to London, where at first he owned, that he was resolved to go to the House of Lords, and to take the Oaths; but the first day after he came to town, he was prevailed on to change his mind: and he has continued ever since in a very warm opposition to the Government."§

* See p. 474, *antè*.

† Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1839, p. 529.

‡ Biographia Britannica, article "KEN," vol. iv. p. 2815.

§ Ibid. It would be almost incredible that a Bishop-Historian, *having*

Of the candour and temperate habit of Ken's mind we have, about the same time, another striking instance in what passed between himself and his old friend Dr. Hooper, who had taken the Oath of Allegiance to William. He was staying at Hooper's house, in Lambeth; the general subject of conversation was the Oath of Allegiance, and submission to the new government, to which Dr. Hooper earnestly endeavoured to persuade him.* "On parting one night to go to bed, the Bishop seemed so well satisfied with the arguments Dr. Hooper urged to him, that he was inclined

possession of Ken's letter addressed to himself, should put such a false colour on the facts, without giving the writer's own explanation,—except that he was offended at Ken's reminding him of his own inconsistencies, and changes of opinion. Well might the author of the Biographia Britannica say, "these two letters are a proper contrast to each other; the crafty malice that lurks in the first could never have been dragged out into a fuller light, than that which reflects upon it from the inimitable fortitude, and undisguised simplicity of the latter, which in its turn too is seen to advantage, by comparing it with the former." Ibid. p. 2816. Burnet, with all his blustering energy, and oracular confidence, could see nothing beyond the sphere of which himself, and his own convictions, were the centre: whatever, at the moment, he thought right, must be right,—whatever he thought wrong, must be reprehensible. He therefore treated Ken's scruples as mere phantoms,—his perplexity between opposite duties as weakness,—his candid acknowledgment of the force of arguments on the other side, as vacillation, resulting from personal motives. Whereas the gentle and sensitive spirit of Ken had critically examined the momentous question in all its bearings: he had balanced the claims of duty towards God, his own interests, and the esteem of men. If he could have reconciled these, there had been an end of all difficulty,—“a consummation devoutly to be wished.” But finding that to be impossible, his own interests, and the opinion of the world, were set at naught; they vanished into air, and he was left with the bright vision of God's approval,—the answer to his incessant prayer,

“That all my powers, with all their might,
In Thy sole glory may unite.”

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

to take the Oaths.* But the next morning he used these expressions to him:—"I question not but that you, and several others have taken the Oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used; but I beg you to urge them no further; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world."†
 "Upon which the Dr. said he would never mention the subject any more to him, for God forbid he should take them."‡

This perplexity of Ken as to the line of his duty, arising from a fear lest the interests of the Church should suffer by the deprivation of the Bishops, is clearly expressed in some letters that passed between his friend Dr. John Fitzwilliam and Lady Russell. That exemplary man succeeded Ken at Brighthelm, in the Isle of Wight,§ and had been Chaplain to James; he was now Canon of Windsor and Rector of Cottenham, near Cambridge, in the diocese of Ely. He was himself steadfastly resolved against the Oath of Allegiance, and died a Non-juror. But, like some others, he thought it not inconsistent to make a compromise with the Government; and if, on his resigning the living of Cottenham, they would have appointed some confidential friend of his own selection, "without any, the least capitulation direct or indirect beforehand,"

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 30.

‡ MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

§ See p. 73, *antè*.

he would have given no opposition, and have lived quietly without giving any trouble. But as this nominee would have to take the Oaths, he naturally doubted whether his Bishop (Turner of Ely), who was the patron, and gave him the living, would sanction the arrangement by administering the Oath, which he could not himself conscientiously take. After explaining this to Lady Russell, with whom he was on terms of great confidence,—in fact he was for many years her spiritual adviser,—he thus proceeds, in reference to Ken :

“I cannot tell what my dear friend, the B. of B. and W. may do in this case. I find him, by a letter to me, and another I saw in the hands of a person of honour of your sex, to be *fluctuating*; but if the consideration of the Church's peace should, without a full persuasion of the lawfulness of the matter of the Oath of Allegiance, and the authority which imposeth it, induce him to take it, neither his example or advice, tho' I have used him as a spiritual guide, should steer me in this point; for I could never hear that doctrine of the Roman casuists defended to a probability,—that a good intention, or a holy end, could sanctify actions in order to that end, which were dubious and questionable in themselves.”*

Sancroft, Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, White of Peterborough, and others, were much alarmed, at the thought of Hooper persuading Ken to leave their party and take the Oath. Turner writes to the Archbishop—

“Ascension Day.

“May it please your Grace,

“When I tooke my leave yesternight, I had no thought of waiting upon you againe, till this day senight. But when I came home, I found a letter to Mrs. Grigg, from the Bishop

* Lady Russell's Letters, edit. 1801, p. 218.

of Bath and Wells, with this advertisement in it for me, 'Tell my friend I will meet him at dinner at Lambeth uppon Saturday;' I suppose hee does not know, that your Grace has left off dining publickly (as you have great reason to doe). But since, my Lord, you are pleas'd to give every one of your Sons a day (as you obligingly expresse it), I must needs say the sooner wee meet our Brother of B. and W. the better; for I must no longer in duty conceale it from your Grace (though I beseech you to keep it in termes of a secrett), *that this very good man is, I feare, warping from us, and the true interest of the Church, towards a compliance with the new government.* I receiv'd an honest letter from him, and a freindly one, wherein hee argues wrong, to my understanding, but promises and protests hee will keep himself disengaged till he debates things over againe with us, and that hee was coming upp for that purpose. My Lord Bishop of Norwich has seen such another letter from him to *my Lord of Gloucester.* And uppon the whole matter our Brother of Norwich, if your Grace thinkes fitt, will meet on Saturday; and I must needs wish my Lord of Chichester would be there to helpe us, if need bee; for it would bee extreme unhappy, should wee at this pinch loose one of our number. I apprehend your Parson of Lambeth [Hooper] has superfin'd uppon our Brother of B. and W., and if hee lodges againe at his house, I doubt the consequence; for which reason I'll come over on Saturday morning, to invite him to my country-house.

"May it please your Grace, I am
your Grace's most obliged and
most obedient Servant,

"FRANCIS ELY."*

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 31. The author of the Life of Kettwell, p. 430, says, "there was a very close friendship contracted between Turner and Bishop Ken, from the time of their having been school-fellows together in Winchester School: but he [Turner] was never able to draw up his friend to the same height in this matter" [of the Oaths].

The mention, in this letter, of "My Lord of Gloucester," (Dr. Robert Frampton) naturally leads to the notice of another, in which reference is made to Ken by one of the most remarkable and exemplary characters in the ranks of the Non-jurors. "Robert of Gloucester" could not change his allegiance, once plighted to James, whose anger he had incurred for his honest outspoken sermon at Whitehall, against the encroachments of the Papists.* His mind being made up, he remained in the country, quietly waiting the consequences, and we hear little of him: he was by nature fitted to act the hero, the confessor, or the martyr, as the case might be; but of a temper so lightsome, free, and candid, that all trials sat easy upon him, and his heart was ever open to those who differed from him. Thus he writes to the Archbishop:

"Standish, Jan. 10. 89/90.

"Most Reverend Father in God,

"It is of noe moment to your Grace to receive the addressees of soe meane a man as I am, but of great concernment to me, when I can make them, and by soe sure an hand, as the bearer's, who is my friend, my secretary, my long acquaintance, in Turkey,† there under one rooffe, where the friendships that we contracted were alwayes honest, never soe much as suspected of any the least falsehood.

"And what is the aime of all this addresse and preface? but only to tender to your Grace, my deare, honest, and hearty respects, such as I owe, and will alwayes pay, to my Metropolitane, and Primate of all England, who is *alterius orbis*

* Note, see p. 323, *antè*.

† Frampton, in earlier life, had been Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo. See article "Huntingdon," *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iv. p. 2710.

Papa, new style, *I meane the Reformed*: withall to let your Grace know, if it be of any moment to know it, that I am, God be prayfed, well in *body and mind, the same honest he, that I ever was, without the least variation.*

"How things goe there, I doe not know, nor am I much solicitous to know them; for I expect nothing but hardships, for not doeing *that, which I would doe if I could, but cannot*: for the longer I muze and labour to satisfye my selfe, the further I am from it; the same difficultyes oppressing me, about the Oath, as oppressed Simonides, when required to give an account, wh^t God was: It now and then quickens me a little to heare, that *this and that man, of our perswasion, is yielding, or falling of; which I doe not envy, or censure in them, but take care that I may not doe any thing by example, how great soever, that may launce my conscience afterwards, and make me out of charity with my selfe, when I am ready to leave this wretched world.*

"True it is, that I am upon reserve, and doe not believe halfe of that which is told me of others, knowing that I have bin belyed to them, oft and oft, my selfe: If your Grace have any Fatherly counsell, direction, or reproofe, to give me, (which may be done safely by this bearer) I shall receive, and comply with it exactly; with the tendernefs and affection, which is due to soe good a man as you are from

"Your Grace's

"Affectionate, humble, faithfull Son and Servant,

"ROBERT GLOUCESTER."*

We cannot doubt that, at this period, a general rumour prevailed, though unfounded, as the result proved, that Ken was going to take the Oaths. This called forth the interference of his learned friend, Henry Dodwell, who addressed a letter to him, full of

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 40.

alarm at what he had heard, and remonstrating against such an apostacy. Ken, in reply, expressed his surprise at Dodwell's giving any credit to the report, and complained of his not writing to ask if it were true, before he charged him so roundly, and laid so great a load of reproach upon him. To this Dodwell rejoins, denying that he brought any accusation against him, other than of "*fluctuating*," and he powerfully appeals to him *not to betray his principles, out of any fear for the greater danger, which the Church may incur by his faithful adherence to them.* He begins,—

"My honoured Lord,

"My letter could not more surprize your Lordship than your reply did me. Methinks, of the two mine was more agreeable to my own avowed principles, and therefore the more reasonably to be expected from a person, so perswaded as I was. * * * * * And sure, your Lordship cannot think these considerations too frivolous to awaken the zeal of all, who have any, for the publick. But if here be no reason, I cannot think of any you could have to be surprized at any other particular of my letter. *For how could I be so jealous for the safety and reputation of the Church, and yet withall be unconcerned for so eminent a member of it? The greater opinion the world has, nay even myself have, of your person: the more melancholy my apprehensions must be of the consequence of your fall. The more the Church will be involved in it, the more sin and scandal will follow from it. It will aggravate your own sin the more, and will occasion a much greater number of other men's sins, for which you must be responsible. The warning you, therefore, of this danger, is so far from being inconsistent with that hearty honour and reverence, which is due to your person as well as your function, as that, indeed, I thought myself the more obliged to perform this office to you, by how much the more I loved and honoured*

you. But your Lordship says, 'I should have sent to you to know whether the reports I had heard of you were true, before I had layd so great a load on you.' That had, indeed, been just, if I had layd any load on you at all; but of all those hard expressions that your Lordship has observed in my letter, I verily believe you will not find, on a second review, so much as one that was layd on you, but in the nature of the fact, *if committed by you*. It was doubting whether a new oath should be taken contrary to your former oaths, that I called *fluctuating*. It was the *doing* it, that I charged with being *accessary to many and great sins in others, of scandal, and perjury and the like*. * * * * *

"But yet, after all, I could wish your Lordship had been pleased to vouchsafe me that information concerning matter of fact, which yourself acknowledge fit to have been desired by me, whether you had, or had not, taken the Oaths? or, if you had not yet, whether you intended to take them? If you had been pleased to declare against taking them, all those supposed harsh expressions had not in the least concerned you, and all our fears and scruples had been satisfied. But, so far you are from this, that you seem to give too great suspicion to the contrary, when you add, that if you had actually fallen, you do not apprehend you should have deserved such odious imputations. And the only reason you give is, that you *must then condemn a great many good and wise men who have already complied, which you dare not do*. This is the only thing in your letter I can find, that can look like an answer to mine, desiring a reason which may seem so much as plausible, to such a person as you, for excusing or justifying a practice so scandalous. But now, on second thoughts, you cannot think this sufficient. You cannot say you are to follow a multitude to do evil, or that the multitude of criminals can change the nature of the fact they are guilty of, that it shall no longer be a crime. But you will say, that you cannot, in modesty, believe *that* a crime which so many wise and good men not only do, but justify. If this were a case where Au-

torities were pleadable, yet it would better become us of the Laity to do it, who are more obliged to follow Authorities, than your Lordship, *who are yourself to be an Authority*. But no multitude whatsoever of apostates, changing in a suspicious time, can ever be pleadable as an authority against a smaller number that keep firm to their principles."

He then at great length pursues his line of argument, which he fortifies by reference to the times of St. Cyprian, and to the examples of Athanasius, and the great Hosius, and concludes,

"I cannot but think these considerations will appear very momentous to your Lordship's mortified and pious temper. I therefore leave them to your Lordship's better thoughts, and managements, and remain,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obsequious humble Servant,

"[HENRY DODWELL.]"*

Henry Dodwell, Camdenian Professor of History in Oxford, was a man of vast acquirement in ancient and modern learning:† emphatic and clear in his style, but redundant, even to lengthiness, he overwhelms

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 218.

† Sancroft, writing to Lloyd of Norwich, about Dodwell's "*Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*," against Humphry Hody's "*Unreasonableness of a Separation*," says, "Oh Brother, that Author is an honour, and a blessing to our Church! I received from him y^e other day his Academical Lectures upon *Spartian's Hadrian*; so full of such recondite, historical, and chronological learning, as may help to make good y^e character his old friend, St. Asaph, once gave of him,—that he is y^e best scholar in y^e world,—or at least make y^e present University of Oxford sensible, how wonderful a man they have tumbled down out of Mr. Camden's Chair, because he refuseth to sit also wth them in the Chair of pestilence. Well! who ever comes after him (let it be *beady, young Hodie*, if they please) will succeed him as y^e Night doth y^e Day, and they'll soon find the difference to their shame: and be it so; 'tis just."—From Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

his reader with accumulated authorities and arguments, as out of an inexhaustible store-house. He was fond of controversy; and being immoveable himself in his resolution against the Oath of Allegiance to William, his heart and pen were always ready for defence or attack, as circumstances called him forth. About this time he wrote another letter to a person of some eminence in the literary circles of the time,—but as far inferior to him in learning, as in steadfastness of purpose, and who had just laid himself open to the imputation of changing his opinions, and of being “brought to swear, at last, through the vertue of a few conjugal sollicitations:”—this was Dr. William Sherlock, Master of the Temple, and principally known to modern readers as the author of an admirable work,—“A Practical Discourse concerning Death,” which went through twenty editions in an unusually short time.

Dodwell, hearing of Sherlock’s intended desertion, wrote him a lengthy and argumentative remonstrance, of which we can only give a very small portion :

“Honoured Sir,

“I have received the very surprizing news of your designed falling from the good cause you have hitherto engaged in. Your ‘Practical Discourse of Death’ made us expect you would have been *faithfull to the Death*, though even the *fear of Death* had been urged to drive you from your constancy. And you have expressions therein that gave us just reason to believe that your design in writing it was, to animate yourself against that most Terrible of all the Terribles that your adversaries were able to inflict upon you. And what is there that can have changed the case since?

The nature of the cause is the same now as then, and cannot alter, though your opinions of it may. Nor have the adversaries any more power *since*, than what you forelaw them armed with *then*. No doubt you will pretend, and produce reasons for what you do. And there is no cause so bad that can want them when a witty person is concerned for it.

* * * * *

"For your own sake, for the Church's sake, for God's sake, lose not your reward for what you have done hitherto; discourage not the hearts and hands of your suffering Brethren; strengthen not the hands of our persecuting, or upbraiding adversaries. You must never expect an hearty honour from the laity, if they once find that any imperious acts of theirs can drive you universally from your principles. Your fall now will be more inexcusable and dishonourable than if you never had stood out; when the right is more declared, when Declarations are more disowned, when many who have complied are sorry for having done so, and when a nearer view of sufferings will tempt others to think that *that is the occasion of it*. God direct you to do what may be most for His own glory, for the good of our distressed and forsaken Church, for your own greatest and eternal interest, for your own comfort, when you come to *practice* your 'practical notions of Death.' So prays

"Your unfeignedly affectionate Brother,

"HENRY DODWELL." *

The story of Sherlock is so illustrative of the various hues in which Passive-obedience, and the Oath appeared to different men, and presents us with such a clear picture of the virulence of parties for and against those questions, that a short sketch of it will not be out of place; and the less so, because his own

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 220.

account of his opinions at the beginning of the Revolution, *up to the time when he changed them*, exactly represents, in almost all particulars, the fixed mind of Ken, *who never changed*.*

In the reign of Charles II. Sherlock had published his well-known tract,—“*The CASE OF RESISTANCE to the supreme powers stated and resolved, according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.*”† In this he carried the principle of Passive-obedience to the *biggest point of extravagance. Though kings should be merciless tyrants, they were above all law, accountable to God only*,—which he laboured by every scriptural fact, and every argument, to make good. Then came 1688, the Revolution, and the new Oaths. If there was any one man in England who, more than all others, would belie his published opinions by acquiescence in the

* Sherlock, in his Preface, says, “The truth is, though I refused to take the Oaths, I never engaged in any faction against it: I never made it my business to dissuade men from it: when my opinion was asked, I declared my own thoughts, but I never sought out men to make proselytes.

“While I thought it an ill thing, I was secretly concerned, that some of my old intimate friends had taken the Oaths; but yet as opportunity served, I conversed with those of them, whose zeal had not made their conversation uneasy, with the same friendship and freedom that I used to do: I believed them to be honest men, and that they acted honestly, according to the persuasion of their own minds, and wished that I could have done as they did. I complied with the Government, as far as I thought I could with a safe conscience: I always lived quietly and peaceably, and was ready to have given security to do so.

“I always opposed a separation, and advised not a few, who thought fit to consult with me, to keep to the Communion of the Church, and not to entertain prejudices against their Ministers for taking the Oath: for I was sensible of the evil and mischief of schism, which some hot men were then forward to promote, and are so still.”

† London, 4to, 1683.

government of William and Mary, it was Dr. Sherlock; and, therefore, he could not but refuse the Oath. On the 1st of August, 1689, he was suspended from the exercise of his functions as Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, Master of the Temple, and Canon of St. Paul's.—The ominous 1st of February, 1690, was also drawing near,—when, if he remained firm, he must be deprived of all his revenues, and have to quit “the conveniences and pleasure of a delightful habitation,”* which the Benchers had given him in the Temple.

At this opportune moment appeared in print “BISHOP OVERALL'S CONVOCATION BOOK,”† copied from Overall's MS. account of the Acts and Canons, passed in the Convocation of the Clergy, under James I. in 1603, and continued by adjournments and prorogations to 1610. The book was published at the instance of Sancroft, because he thought it plainly established the principles on which he and others *refused* the Oath. Not so Sherlock:—he found in it one or two passages, which to his mind honestly established a clear reason for his *taking* it:‡ thus the Convocation

* See his “Epistle Dedicatory to the Masters of the Bench, and the rest of the Members of the Two honourable Societies of the Temple,” prefixed to the “Practical Discourse concerning Death.”

† The Imprimatur is dated the 24th June, 1689—but it was not published until 1690.

‡ Lloyd of Norwich writes to Sancroft, on the 23rd of August, 1690, “My Lord,—I observe that Dr. Sh—ck hath been att great paines to consult, and peruse Bp. Overall's Book of Convocation. And it will require more tyme than I have been master of (since I saw your Grace) to consider his way of arguing. Only for the present it seems to me, that *he takes this meerely for a color, and a pretence to goe off*. For, my Lord, *he bath seene this blott, as he calls it, ever since the publication of the*

Book came as a bright gleam across his path. His former opinions, "stated and resolved according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures," now became "dissolving views," and gave place to their direct opposites, founded on "the venerable authority (as he says) of the Church of England." Accordingly he took the Oath to William, and published another tract,—*"The CASE OF ALLEGIANCE, stated and resolved according to Scripture and Reason, and the Principles of the Church of England."** He had, a few years before, proved to demonstration, as he thought, that "Sovereigns were above all law, accountable to God only:" and now, *as* unanswerably, he made out that "Princes, *who have no legal right to their Thrones*, may yet have God's authority." This principle, followed out to its consequences, would also prove, that Oliver Cromwell, with his Barebones Parliament, might have God's authority,—and that they who forbade the use of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, even in private houses, on pain of imprisonment, were to be obeyed;—and, therefore, men could not, without offence to God,

booke, and yet be never mentioned it till now, when it seems a plausible pretence. It's the very argument that Dr. Williams urged him withall lately, to which he made noe other reply, but that *it was weak and silly, and deserved not an answer.*" Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 187. And in the next folio of the same vol. is a paper, prepared by Sherlock, to prove that "*a Sovereign cannot forfeit his crown,—cannot be judged, nor deprived by his subjects on abdication or desertion—and when once a King, he is always so till death, or a voluntary and legal resignation.*" There is an attestation in Sancroft's hand-writing, that these minutes were given by Sherlock to Mr. Wagstaffe, when he would have engaged him to write a Vindication of the Principle of Passive-obedience.

* London, 4to, 1690.

addresses Him in the words appointed by His own divine, and coequal Son.

In the Preface to his new "CASE," he says, with a confident air, "one would have thought it the most probable consequence, that a man who had *forfeited all his preferments by refusing the Oath*, acted very honestly, and sincerely in it:"—this was readily enough granted by all: "and if so (he continues), there is also good reason to believe that, if the same person afterwards *takes the Oath* (he might have added, "*to recover his preferments*")—he acts honestly in that too,"—which, notwithstanding all the ingenuity of his arguments, *was granted by very few*. Special doubts arose in people's minds as to Dr. Sherlock's motives; for, whether truly or not, the popular belief was, that he had been compelled to yield to the "persecution of the Curtain-Lectures" of Mrs. Sherlock, who could not bear the thoughts of losing the "coach and horses," the "Upper Pew," and the "delightful habitation" in the Temple.

"When Eve the Fruit had tasted,
She to her Husband haſted,
And chuck'd him on the Chin-a;
Dear Bud (quoth ſhe), come taſte this fruit,
'Twill finely with your palate ſuit,
To eat it is no fin-a.

"As moody Job, in ſhirtleſs caſe,
With Collyflowers all o're his face,
Did on the dunghill languish,
His ſpouſe thus wiſpers in his ear,
Swear, Huſband, as you love me, *Swear*;
'Twill eaſe you of your anguiſh." *

* The Reasons of the New Converts taking the Oaths to the present Government. 4to, 1691, pp. 31, 32.

"A bookfeller, seeing him handing his wife along St. Paul's Churchyard, said, 'There goes Dr. Sherlock, with his reasons for taking the Oath at his fingers' ends.'"* No sooner was the challenge-note of the ecclesiastical Chanticleer heard from the Temple, than twenty or more shrill defiance resounded from the printers' shops, to the tune of Ballads, Pasquinades, Satyres, Fables, Dialogues, &c. They fill two capacious volumes: the titles of a few are sufficient to show the unseemly rancour they breathed:

"Sherlock against Sherlock; or the Master of the Temple's Reasons for his late taking the Oath, &c., answered by the Rector of St. George, Botolph Lane, with Modest Remarks on the Doctor's Celebrated Notions, &c." "The Weefils: a Satyrical Fable: giving an Account of some argumental Passages happening in the Lion's Court about Weefilian's taking the Oaths."† "The Moralift: or a Satyr upon the Sects, &c." "Dr. Sherlock's Two Kings of Brainford, brought upon the Stage, &c." "The Trimming Court Divine, or Reflexions on Dr. Sherlock's Book, &c." "A Word to the Wavering Levite, or an Answer to

* Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors, 8vo, 1845, p. 115.

† This is a poetical dialogue between the Dr. and Mrs. Sherlock—in which are many passages like these;

	<i>Husband Weefil.</i>	'Tis fit we should on Providence depend, Which in it's own due time will succour send; To that with modest patience let us fix.
	<i>Wife Weefil.</i>	But the mean time I want my Coach and fix: The neighboring Wives already slight me too, Juggle to the wall, and take the Upper Pew.
	<i>Husband Weefil.</i>	Consider, if I should your wishes crown, What a strange noise 'twould make about the town; How many galling censures must I bear?
	<i>Wife Weefil.</i>	What's censure, to six hundred Pounds a year? Come, come, excuse is vain; this Oath must be, If you intend to live in peace with me."

Dr. Sherlock's Reasons, &c. By a London Apprentice of the Church of England." "A Dialogue between Dr. Sherlock, the King of France, the Great Turk, and Dr. Oates."* "Sherlockianus Delineatus: or the Character of a Sherlockian." "Proteus Ecclesiasticus, or Observations on Dr. Sh——'s late Case of Allegiance:" "Si Fortuna velit, &c. Gravel Lane to-day, D——n of P——s [Dean of St. Paul's] to-morrow, and Gravel Lane again, as moody Fortune or Spouse pleases. By Smock-Peckt Sh——k;"—with many others equally farcaftic and bitter. †

The adherents of the new government, though startled, were amused,—and delighted to have the

* The Master of the Temple is severely handled in such passages as the following,

"*The King of France.* I, and my Ally Sultan, are come in *propriis personis*, to thank the Master of the Christian Temple for his late Book, which perhaps may do us more service than all the mercenary pens of France, or than all our dragoons, and Janizaries. I have now God Almighty's authority, and an irresistible power in *Lorrain, Franch Comté, Straßburgh, Treves, Flanders, and Savoy*; though I confess I ravish'd them away from the legal owners, contrary to my own oaths and secret treaties; yet Heaven justifies me by Her Oracle, Dr. Sherlock, who proclaims to all the world, that Providence brought these things to pass, and that God has deputed me His Vicegerent with an uncontrollable Commission. The Lorrainers and Savoyards must now fight against God, if they fight against me, or for their lawful Dukes.

"*The Great Turk.* My Case is the same; this Christian Priest has pleaded my Divine Authority over the Holy Land, and Christ's Sepulchre. If the Vizier had taken Vienna in the year 1683, and had swallowed all the Roman Empire, where should have been the perfidy, and the treachery, which Christendom brands us Mahometans with, and which our Mufti has often thrown in our faces?—seeing the great English Apostle attributes all to Providence, and seals all success with the finger of God Almighty."

† Mr. Lathbury has a Collection of seven hundred Books and Pamphlets, on the disputes between the original Non-jurors, and their opponents, and on the more protracted and varied controversies among themselves, and especially among their successors. It is worthy of a place in some one of our public Libraries.

authority of such a convert as the Master of the Temple, to justify the Oath they had themselves taken ;—the Non-jurors were, of course, exceedingly indignant ;—while the Dissenters of all denominations openly triumphed in the tergiversation of a Prelatic Divine, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Hitherto he had been the close ally of the Non-juring Bishops : Turner of Ely requested Sancroft to let "that useful friend of ours, the Master of the Temple," join in their consultations at Lambeth.* After Sherlock had fallen away, Sancroft writing to Lloyd of Norwich, says :

"Dr. South lately sent me word that the false Brother, W. Sherl. was all along a spie upon us, and discov'd all we did or s^d, to *Johannes de Sacro Bosco*, i. e. John of Halifax. You may remember, y^t it was Fr. of Ely, who introduc'd him into our Meetg's at L. when I thought it was fitt to have none, but of y^e Order [of Bishops] there. But he mov'd, that he might be invited ; because he might be usefull, and would take it ill, if he were omitted," &c. †

Ken took no part in all these disputes : he was sufficiently grieved, that he was himself misunderstood, and misrepresented : but it had no influence on his resolved course. As the time drew on for his ejection, the people of his diocese became more deeply affected at the thought of losing their revered Pastor. His zeal for their welfare, and his mild and the loving government of them, were the more valued, the nearer the appointed day approached. The Clergy,

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 74.

† Dated from "Freshingfield, Dec. 23. 1691." Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

therefore, proposed an earnest Petition to the King on behalf of himself, the Archbishop, and the other Prelates under censure, praying that “they might not be deprived of their revenues and dignity, but restored to the administration of their functions.”

“*Petition of the Clergy.*

“To the King’s most excellent Majesty.

“The humble Petition of his Majesty’s most obedient and most dutiful subjects, the Clergie of the Diocese of [Bath and Wells] in behalf of the most reverend Archbishop of the Province (of Canterbury), and the right reverend the Bishops at present under censure.

“That your Petitioners, having had great reason to bless God for those their ecclesiastical governors, by whose godly wisdom and directions they have been all along greatly edified, and by whose religious conduct and exemplary constancy they have, through the providence of God, been lately *preserved in perilous times*, and for whose sufferings and imminent dangers under which they *then* lay, your Petitioners were *then*, together with the whole kingdom, deeply afflicted. As we should have thought ourselves very happy if the same reverend persons could have satisfied themselves to have taken the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy* required by the late Act of Parliament, so we cannot but entertain so much filial tenderness and dutiful affection for them, as *passionately to entreat, that the Church may not suffer so great a loss as to be deprived of them, nor they be wholly excluded from the comforts of that great deliverance which we owe to your Majesty, to which they, by a generous and seasonable exposing of themselves for the common safety, did eminently contribute*; and that your most humble Petitioners are more especially emboldened to address your Majesty on their behalf, from that full experience we have of the peaceableness of their disposition, for which we are ready to stand engaged, and particularly from this confi-

deration, that although they have not taken the Oaths themselves, yet, neither we, your Petitioners, nor any depending on them, have, as we are morally assured, ever by them been *discouraged* from taking the same.

"May it therefore please your most excellent Majestie, graciously to propound some such expedient as shall seem most proper to your Majestie's high wisdom, that these reverend persons may not stand deprived of their revenues and dignity, and may be restored to such administration of their several functions, as may consist with the safety and honour of your Majesty's government. And your Petitioners, &c."*

Similar Petitions were promoted in the Dioceses of Norwich and Gloucester, in favour of Lloyd and Frampton. Indeed the Clergy in general,† although they themselves had taken the Oaths, felt so great a reverence for the Prelates, who had been staunch supporters of the Protestant cause, that they were anxious if possible to save them from deprivation.‡ Mr. Bowles says, "I give this Petition, as I found it among Ken's papers." It may be a question whether it was

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 194.

† "And in the Lower House of Convocation [which met in November, 1689] the majority had a reserved kindness for the Non-juring Bishops and Clergy: and therefore one of the members made a zealous speech in behalf of the Bishops under Suspension, that 'something might be done to qualify them to sit in Convocation, yet so as the Convocation might not incur any danger thereby.' But this matter, being of too delicate a nature, was left to farther consideration." See Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, edit. 1752, p. 207; see also Lathbury's *Hist. of the Convocation*, 2nd edit. p. 332.

‡ *History of the Non-jurors, their Controversies and Writings, &c.*, by Thomas Lathbury, M.A., 8vo, 1845, p. 64. Mr. Lathbury is the well known author also of "*A History of the Convocation of the Church of England, from the earliest period to the year 1742*," before quoted. Both are most valuable and interesting works. To the *History of the Non-jurors* I am largely indebted.

ever signed, or presented: for the Bishops appear to have viewed these exertions with a doubting approval. Lloyd of Norwich thus writes on the subject to Sancroft:

19. 8^{ber}—89.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Mr. Inch * called upon me last Wenſday, and ſhewed me a proteſt, contrived by him and ſom of our good friends (as he ſtyled them), in order to ward off our deprivation. I thanked him, and our good friends for their kinde deſigns; but at the ſame tyme I could not well reſolve what it might import, *timeo Danaos et dona, &c.*, and I dread lurking, and conſequentiall ſnares. It’s therefore neceſſary to conſider well of this proteſt, before any determination about it.

“ I muſt confeſſe to your Grace, that I doe not think it fitt for us to appeare in it, or to puſh it on; as it took its riſe from our friends kindneſſe, ſoe its moſt proper for them to manage it.

“ Againe, it may be very improper to ſtir the point, till wee ſee in what temper the gent: are, that meet att St. Stephen’s Chappell. The giving of a recognizance for the good abearing, or quiett peaceable liveing, is a point that deſerves to be well weighed; eſpecially, ſince the interpretation of it depends much on the mercy of the gent: that ſitt in Wighthall; on the other hand, the circumſtance of our poore non-complying brethren in our reſpective Dioceſſes muſt be conſidered, for (if I miſtake not) the benefitt of the proteſt concerns them more than us.

“ My Lord, upon the whole matter, I deſigned this day to have wayted upon your Grace and my Ld: of Ely; but in good truth, I am not able to ſtirr abroad. I tooke phyſicke laſt Monday, and I have beene feaveriſh ever ſince; but as

* Probably Mr. Ince, who was Solicitor to Sancroft, and his Brethren, on their Trial. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 185.

soone as it shall please God to enable me, I shall wayte upon your Grace, and my Lord of Ely. In the meane tyme, with the tender of my humble duty and service, I remaine,

“ Your Grace’s most obedient Servant to command,

“ WILLIAM NORWICH.”*

“ If your Grace shall appoint any day the next weeke, I shall endeavour to wayte upon you.”

Another letter on the same subject, probably addressed to one of the Archbishop’s Chaplains, by a Clergyman of the Diocese of Norwich, confirms the doubt, whether the zeal of the Clergy was heartily encouraged by the Bishops themselves :

“ September 24. 90.

“ Sir,

“ I have given you a very long respite from the trouble of my scriblings, and may now have leave for a line or two, which, perhaps you will say, may intimate our overforwardnesse and officiousnesse, rather than our wisdom and prudence : to be short, the report we heard of the Gloucestershire petition prefer’d by the Grand Jury there, in behalfe of their Bishop, encouraged us to trye our Interest with our Grand Jury, in behalfe of our Metropolitan and Diocesan too, in order whereunto two neighbouring Divines, and my selfe, went to the assize last weeke at Bury, and found ourselves allmost prevented [anticipated] by the endeavours of some honest gentlemen, who seemed to have worked the rest of the Brethren of the Grand Jury into a good forwardnesse this way ; a Petition was prepared and in appearance approved of, when the cauteousnesse of some of our friends on the sudden dasht the whole businesse, and struck it, and our hopes, and our endeavours too, quite dead ; but why may not the Clergy of this part of the Diocese who had not opportunity to

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 92.

joyne with our Brethren in Suffolke, do it by our selves? or will the doing of it be any way acceptable? I doubt not but we could get it subscribed, if it would be either serviceable or acceptable to our most Reverend Fathers, &c.

“ Sir,

“ Your most obliged and humble Servant,

“ JO. SHEPHARD.”*

If the Petition in favour of Ken ever reached the King's hands, it was not likely to have much weight. The question of the deprivals, like every thing else, was to be tested and resolved by political expediency. William calmly held the balance between the opposite weights of party; of whose violence we may form some notion from the heat and rancour of the pamphlets which were constantly appearing. Many busy persons, and especially those who rejoiced in any attack on the Church, endeavoured to inflame the people against the Bishops. Still their cause rather gained ground at Court, as well as in the country. William had already been galled by the opposition of his former friends: he saw amidst the jarring elements of political strife the selfishness that made the general welfare secondary to the personal objects of each. Contrasted with this, the conscientious scruples of the Non-jurors, however mistaken, seemed to claim indulgence. Even down to a later period than this, he was really desirous to prevent the extreme measure of deprivation, and to give the Bishops more time. He was convinced that, if they could be conciliated, they would greatly promote the stability of his Government. When he first came over to England, he could have known little of

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 212.

Episcopacy, except in the Roman Catholic form, which was most repugnant to his ideas : allowance is to be made for early prejudices, which were afterwards modified by his intercourse with the English Bishops.* When he dissolved his first Parliament, early in 1690, Lord Clarendon says, "several of my friends were with me in the afternoon, and told me the King had declared himself for the Church of England, and had given public encouragement to all gentlemen, who took leave of him, upon going into the country, to choose Church of England men."† At the opening of the new Parliament, he declares in his speech, penned by himself, that "the Church of England is one of the greatest supports of the Protestant religion in general, for the defence whereof I am ready again to venture my life."‡

The Queen, who was firmly attached to the Church, had a personal regard for Ken, her former Chaplain at the Hague, and the highest esteem for Sancroft's character. Notwithstanding all questions, "the Archbishop was permitted to continue at Lambeth Palace, where he maintained the same attendance and splendour of establishment he had formerly done ; and during the whole of this period he constantly received visits from the nobility, and others with whom he had lived in habits of intercourse, and was treated with marks of respect by persons of every rank."§ The 1st of February, 1690, was already past, within which

* Trevor's Life of William III., vol. i. p. 84.

† Clarendon's Letters and Diary, vol. ii. p. 299.

‡ Trevor's Life of William III., vol. ii. p. 88.

§ D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 449.

the law required the Clergy to take the new Oath of Allegiance : still no measures were adopted against the Bishops to enforce the penalty : they were left in quiet possession of their revenues, in the hope that they might come round.

But an incident, which was sure to injure them in the judgment of all lovers of peace, soon afterwards occurred. A day of national fast had been proclaimed for the 12th of March ; to be repeated on the third Wednesday of every month, for the success of the forces in Ireland. Special prayers were appointed for the personal safety of William, who was to command in person. Either some Roman Catholics, or some violent Jacobites, took this opportunity to distribute many thousand copies of a form of prayer for King James, as a substitute for the other. It does not mention him by name ; but the whole tenor of the paper sufficiently exposed its real object. Amongst other things, it prays,

“Restore to us the public worship of Thy name, the reverend administration of Thy Sacraments ; raise up the former government both of Church and State, that we may be *no longer* without King, without Priest, and without God in the world. Send forth Thy light, and Thy truth, and let them preserve us. Protect and defend Thy servant, our Sovereign Lord the King [meaning King James]. Be Thou unto him a helmet of salvation, &c. Give him the neck of his enemies, and also every day more and more the hearts of his subjects. As for those that are implacable, clothe them with shame ; but upon himself and his Posterity let the Crown flourish.” *

* A Collection of State Tracts, published during the Reign of King William III., vol. ii. p. 99.

The prayers would seem to bear internal evidence of being penned by a Roman Catholic: they speak of restoring public worship, and the reverend administration of the Sacraments, which in the English Church had never been suspended; and insinuate that the nation had no longer a Priesthood, which was obviously untrue, as applied to any other than the Romish Church, whose worship, and Sacraments, and Priesthood had all been suppressed. The Non-juring Bishops, however, were accused of being the authors or abettors of this new Liturgy. They did not think it necessary to put forth any denial of the charge, until the appearance, some months afterwards, of a most scurrilous Pamphlet, which included this accusation, with others still more improbable, and much more serious.

On the 30th of June, the day before William's victory of the Boyne, the English and Dutch fleets sustained a signal defeat from the French off Beechy Head, and within sight of our own shores. During a whole month, whilst the English ships were being repaired, the French were masters of the Channel; and we may imagine the consternation which this excited in the public mind: indeed, if the French had boldly taken advantage of the occasion, they might have entered the Thames and burnt the merchant ships. Such was the occasion that called forth this venomous pamphlet, under the title of "*A MODEST ENQUIRY into the present Disasters: and who they are that brought the French fleet into the English Channel describ'd.*" It was full of outrageous charges against the peaceful Bishops, who are called "*the Reverend*

Club-of-Lambeth, “the *Holy Jacobite Club,*” “our *big-blow-n-Passive-Obedience-men,*” “the *Œcumenick Council of the whole party,*” &c. The author was incontestably a furious dissenter. He attacks the Prelates (more disliked for their Prelacy than their persons) because they would not take the Oath; but is equally scandalized at the Clergy who did, and whom he accuses “of cheating the world with ridiculous and foolish distinctions, and playing fast and loose with Almighty God.” In another part, speaking of the Clergy as a class, he calls them “wretches, great contrivers and managers of cabals, who by their Profession are for the most part extraordinarily credulous.” He triumphantly reminds the Bishops, whom he calls “our High Priest, and the rest of the *Gang,*” of their “*beloved power to trample on the Dissenters, who are now out of their clutches.*”

This energetic writer calls the new prayers “the great guns” of the Bishops—who were “marshalling a great many of King James’ officers and cashier’d gentlemen,” and “levying no inconsiderable sums of money for a final insurrection.” “Amongst the collectors for the ‘*Holy Club,*’ there must be *one Fellow* that eat King William’s bread,” (meaning Ken at the Hague) and “one of his arts was to persuade silly old women to tell down their dust for carrying on so pious a work,” namely, “to work a mine under ground, in order to a general assault.”

But “the great gun,” which these soldiers in lawn were “thus furiously playing,” was no less than inviting over the French King, and holding constant correspondence with Monsieur de Croissy. The Modest

Enquirer gives a copy of a supposed address to Louis XIV. sent over by our high Priest and the rest of the gang, which he says "was discovered of late by a certain person." It begins, "Great and invincible Monarch! The resplendent rays of your Majesty's virtues have render'd all the world your adorers! and that inherent goodness of which your Majesty stands so transcendently possess'd, does render you the only sanctuary of all the distressed:" &c. &c.

The writer of this libel, not satisfied with assaulting the character of the Bishops, suggested that they should be "*De Witted*,"—that is, treated in the same way as the Pensionary of Holland, John De Witt, and his brother Cornelius, whom the mob at Amsterdam had massacred in 1672, dragging their bodies about the town, on the false charge of a plot against the life of William, Prince of Orange, soon after he had been elected Stadtholder. Hence the offensive term came to be well understood in Holland and England to mean—massacred. "The truth is," (says the Modest Enquirer) "it is a wonder, the English nation, upon the affront that has befallen them, in being forced to turn their backs to the French at sea, have not in their fury *De Witted* some of these men, who have brought all this upon us. *And I must tell them, that the crimes of the two unhappy brothers in Holland (which gave rise to that word) were not fully so great as some of theirs.*" *

The Pamphlet, being widely circulated, made a

* The "*MODEST ENQUIRY*" will be found in the Collection of State Tracts, Published during the Reign of King William III., folio, 1706, vol. i. p. 104.

great noise, and the mob was excited to such a degree of heat against the Bishops, that they were really in some danger of personal violence. Burnet says, "the Jacobites, all England over, kept out of the way, and were afraid of being fallen upon by the rabble." Lloyd of Norwich shortly afterwards describes to the Archbishop an attack that was made upon his house in Old Street:

"5. Aug.—90.

"May it please your Grace,

"I was yesterday forced to a sudden flight, being allarummed by the rabble, who began to appeare att their reformation worke in Old Street; I had a message from a good friend last Saturday, which assur'd me, that the rabble would be up in a short tyme. And on Sunday, my house keeper (being among some of her relations in Cripplegate) brought me word, that the Fanat^{icks} talke bitterly against the Bishops, and would shortly call them to an accompt.

"About 9 of the clock yesterday, Mr. Edward of Eye, and another Gent. called upon me, and told me, they saw about 150 of the mobb very buisie in pulling down of houses in Old Street. Within a few minuts, the hawker (that sells pamphlets) brought the same tydings, and, in regard the dangerous crew were soe neere, I sent forthwith one of my men, to see how the affayre went abroad, and another to fetch me a hackney coach, into which I gott, with my wife and childe, and straitways tooke sanctuary in the Temple. From thence I sent for further information, and found that the crew in Oldstreet was disperfed, partly by Justice Parry comeing among them, and takeing their names, and threatening them with informations; and chiefly by a company of the trayned bands, who in that nicke of tyme passed that way, in order to muster in the fields.

"About 4 in the afternoon I returned to my house, and found all quiett in the way. If the rabble had continued, I

would not have fayled to have sent notice to your Grace, and on the other hand, I resolved not to send a confused uncertayne allarum.

"God be pray'd this scare-crow is over, and I hope God will still deliver us from the bloody fangs of cruell faints and scoundrells. God Almighty preserve your Grace. I am

"Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM NORWICH.

"If your Grace please let the paper sent by Mr. Jacobs remaine where it is, till I have the happinesse to see you."*

This very grave accusation of treason, and the suspicion also of having put forth the Form of Prayer, or New Liturgy, compelled the Bishops to publish an unqualified denial. Ken, at least, was seldom one of the imaginary "Lambeth-Club." He had remained, where he most loved to be, in his Diocese, except for short intervals, when his advice was required.†

Sancroft tried his hand at a "Vindication," which was submitted to the other Non-juring Bishops for their approval, or correction. They exchanged their ideas by correspondence. Turner of Ely encloses a letter for the Archbishop to read, and forward to Lloyd of Norwich:

"July 15. 1690. Bansted.

"May it please your Grace,

"I presume to send this enclosed open for your Grace's perusal, 'tis in answer to a long one I had last night from my

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 176.

† Ken, and Frampton, were in London for a few days in January, 1690. Lord Clarendon notices their visit to him, and the next day he met them at Church at Ely House. Clarendon's State Letters and Diary, vol. ii. p. 227. He mentions Ken as being again in London, on the 15th and 20th of June, in this year.

Lord of Norwich. These are my poore thoughts on our present ill condition, and my imperfect advice what is possible for us to doe, or probable wee may suffer. When your Grace has cast your eye uppon it, bee pleased to lett the bearer have it seal'd. In my daily Litanys I commend your Grace (and now more fervently in this our day) to God's most mighty protection, and begging your benediction, I rest

"Your Grace's most obedient
affectionate Servant,

"FRAN: ELY."*

Two days afterwards Ken returned to the Archbishop the Declaration of denial, which had been sent to him, suggesting alterations :

"July 17. 1690.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"May it please your Grace,

"I have drawne up another forme, which to me seemes more proper then the other, it being short, therefore lesse liable to cavells, and more convenient for dispersing, and I thinke as full as the former; I submit it to your Grace's judgment, and I send it thus early, that you may have the longer time to consider it.

"Your Grace's most obedient Servant and Son,

"THO. B. and W.

"To his Grace of Canterbury humbly present."†

Having at length settled the precise terms of their Defence, they found some difficulty in getting it printed, for the authorities refused a license. But they resolved that it should be published at all risks : and accordingly it appeared under the title of,

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. p. 155.

† Ibid. p. 156.

“ *The DECLARATION of William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and of severall of his Suffragans, whose names are underwritten.*”

“ Whereas in a late pamphlet, entitled ‘ *A Modest Enquiry into the causes of the present Disasters, &c.*’ we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, are among others represented as the authors and abettors of England’s miseries; and under the abusive names of the *Lambeth-Holy-Club, the Holy-Jacobite-Club, and the Œcumenick Council of the whole Party*, are charged with a *Third Plot*, and with the composing of a *New Liturgy*, and using it in our Cabals; and whereas the Clergy, such of them as are styled malecontents, are said (together with others) to have presented a Memorial to the King of France, to persuade him to invade England; and are also affirmed to have kept a constant Correspondence with M. de Croissy in order thereunto:

“ We do here solemnly, *as in the presence of God*, protest and declare,

“ 1. That these accusations cast upon us are all of them malicious calumnies, and diabolical inventions; that we are innocent of them all; and we defy the libeller (whoever he be), to produce, if he can, any legal proof of our guiltiness therein.

“ 2. That we know not who was the author of the *New Liturgy*, as the libel calls it; that we had no hand in it, either in the *Club, Cabal* or otherwise; nor was it composed, or published by our order, consent, or privity; nor hath it been used at any time by us, or any of us.

“ 3. That neither we, nor any of us, ever held any Correspondence, directly or indirectly, with M. de Croissy, or with any minister or agent of France: *and if any such Memorial, as the libel mentions, was ever really presented to the French King*, we never knew anything of it, nor anything relating thereto. And we do utterly renounce both that, and all

other invitations suggested to be made by us, in order to any invasion of this kingdom by the French.

“4. That we utterly deny, and disavow all Plots charged upon us, or contrived or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep *consciences void of offence towards God and towards man*.

“5. That we are so far from being the authors and abettors of England’s miseries (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us) that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity and glory of England; and shall always, by God’s grace, make it our daily practice *to study to be quiet*, to bear our Cross patiently, and to seek the good of our Native Country.

“Who the author of this Libel is we know not: but whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil: he barbarously endeavours to raise in the whole English nation such a fury, as may end in *De-Witting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood!) But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him.

“We have all of us, not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and arbitrary power in England: and we shall by God’s grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming upon us, and prevailing over us; the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being still fresh in our memories.

“It is our great unhappiness that we have not opportunity to publish full and particular answers to those many libels, which are industriously spread against us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cause,

but will be so just and charitable to us, as to believe this solemn protestation of our innocency.

“ Signed W. Cant.

W. Norwich.

Printed in the year 1690.

Fr. Ely.

Tho. Bath and Wells.

Tho. Petriburgh.

*“ We are well assured of the concurrence of our absent Brother, the Bishop of Gloucester, as soon as the copy can be transmitted to him.” **

It was a great hardship that the Bishops should be refused a license to publish their VINDICATION. The rulers of the day, so loud in praise of liberty, would not permit any indulgence, or freedom of the presb.

• Sancroft complains of this in one of his letters:

“ We are daily oppressed in our consciences, in our propertie, and in our libertie, contrary to our old laws, and even their own too, while Papists, Quakers, Arians, and Hereticks of all sorts are free. When a bloody rabble were (in print) encouraged to tear us in pieces, there was no more notice taken of it, than if the country-people had been getting together to dispatch a wolfe, or a mad dog: and the Government were so far from protecting us, y^t they would not suffer us to defend ourselves. You know what objections (I might say cavils) were rais’d against the short and modest Vindication; so, in fine, we could not get it licen^d to the presb; and

* The text of this Declaration is adapted from the Life of Kettlewell, p. 260, and D’Oyly’s Life of Sancroft, edit. 1840, p. 269; but they differ from the two originals in the Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 242 and 245, which are themselves not quite correct transcripts of each other. This is to be accounted for by the careful revision which it underwent, perhaps even after it was signed. One of the copies bears only the signature of Robert Frampton of Gloucester, who was at a distance. In Dr. Williams’s Collection of Original Letters, there is a rough draught, with variations, in the hand writing of Lloyd of Norwich.

you remember how barbarously we were used for it afterwards."*

It is hardly worth while to show the severity exercised towards the Non-jurors, and the measures taken to seize their publications in the printing houses, and break up the presses; another instance, however, from Sancroft's letters may be given:

"To suppress our books, and oppress (instead of answering) those that write them, and to destroy the very press itself too, is like the cruelty forbidden by Moses, to destroy not only the eggs, and young ones in the nest, but the Dam also that sits upon them. It is a great comfort that the last Bird which was hatched there (of the true noble Eyrie, and a gallant high Flier) is fledg'd and flown, and will fill the whole forest with such notes, of which the Pies and Daws (that like it not) will never be able to drown the music."†

Notwithstanding all attempts to prevent it, the Declaration of the Bishops soon found its way to the public, and to their convictions: for it gained implicit credence, and brought discredit on the author of the injurious Pamphlet. It gave the Bishops an opportunity of recalling to people's minds their former sufferings, and how they had hazarded all in opposing

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Ibid. He alludes to Henry Dodwell's "Vindication of the Deprived Bishops." A strict watch was kept on the movements of the Bishops. In many of their letters they express their fear of spies. The King took umbrage at so many persons going to the Chapel at Ely House, near Holborn. Lloyd of St. Asaph intimated to Turner of Ely that he had better shut it up: and afterwards, finding the same concourse of people resorted there, he "told him plainly he must let no more company come to his chapel." See Clarendon's State Letters and Diary, vol. ii. pp. 227. 229.

Popery and arbitrary power. The false charges against them, as generally happens when an accusation is proved to be malicious, resulted in a fuller persuasion of the sincerity of their motives in the matter of the Oaths.

"This Vindication had that good effect as to calm, in a good measure, that storm which had been raised with a great deal of artifice against the suffering Bishops, in order to sink them all at once. Some in the House of Commons, as well as in the House of Lords, could not forbear expressing on proper occasions, and when they could speak freely, a great concern for those good Bishops and Clergymen then under suspension for a scruple of conscience: and would have been glad to have found an expedient to have prevented their ruin and destruction in this world." *

Finding that all classes, except the enemies to the Church, were anxious some measure should be devised to excuse them from taking the Oath of Allegiance, the King did what he could towards it. Lord Clarendon's Diary gives some curious particulars of the anxiety of the Government to bring them to terms:

"Dec. 31, 1689. In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me, and told me that a few days since, the Bishops of London and St. Asaph had been with Lord Canterbury [the Archbishop], pressing to know, what he and the rest could do to prevent being deprived. Could they make no steps towards the Government? Some expedients they proposed; as, that a short bill should be passed, giving the King power to dispense with them [the Oaths] during pleasure; to all

* Life of John Kettlewell, p. 264; see also Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time, edit. 1839, p. 530.

which the Archbishop, and those who were with him, *viz.* Norwich and Ely, answered, that they could do nothing: if the King thought it fit, for his own sake, that they should not be deprived, he must make it his business; they could not vary from what they had done; and besides, they were not now altogether, and therefore could make no other answer.*

"Feb. 11. 1690. The Bishop of Ely dined with me. He told me the Bishops of London, St. Asaph, and Bangor had been at Lambeth to acquaint the Archbishop, that the King would continue the deprived Bishops in their sees, and not put any others into their places; that they should enjoy their revenues; and that the King would make their Receivers his Receivers, to collect and pay the revenues to themselves. A fine project to determine the point!"†

Burnet also was now again sent by the Queen to a nobleman, who had great credit with the deprived Bishops, "to try whether, if Parliament could be brought to dispense with their taking the Oaths, they would go on, and do their functions, ordain, confirm, assist at prayers and Sacraments, give institutions, and visit their Dioceses."‡ Surely nothing could be more reasonable than such a proposal: for, as Burnet says, "these are the great duties of the Episcopal Function; and it seemed an extravagant thing to have Bishops in a Church, who should perform none of them, but should only live in their Sees, and enjoy their revenues."§

Had Ken's moderate counsels prevailed, this proposal would have been accepted. Throughout the whole controversy he advocated measures of peace:

* Lord Clarendon's State Papers and Diary, vol. ii. p. 221.

† Ibid. p. 229.

‡ Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 102.

§ Ibid. p. 103.

"I confess," he says, "I never was for extremities, which I soon thought would prove of fatal consequences; but I find that others, who always were, and still are for them, think but hardly of me."* These "fatal consequences" were the injuries sustained by the Church of England in the uncanonical deprivals of the Clergy,—the schismatical acceptance of their spiritual offices by others,—the separation of so many Bishops, Priests, and laymen from her communion,—and the unchristian animosities thus created amongst all classes. The Archbishop was influenced by Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, and White of Peterborough. They looked upon William as an Usurper, and James as still head of the Church, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and to whom alone they could pay homage.—They resolved, therefore, in maintaining their old principles of Passive-obedience, to reject any expedients, or compromise.

Ken had returned to Wells: like the needle to the loadstone, he was always drawn to the sphere of his Diocese: and he would now make the most of the short time which the law would probably allow him. His diligence and zeal were untiring, so long as he was permitted to act. He maintained his friendly relations with the Clergy of his See (however much he differed from them as to the Oaths, which almost every one of them had taken) and laboured still more among the poor of his flock, who had none of these vexed questions to settle. After two months the nobleman, to whom Burnet had been sent (the Earl

* Round, p. 59.

of Rochester) told him that "he had obeyed the Queen's commands with zeal, and all the skill he had; but the Bishops would answer nothing, and promise nothing, only he believed they would be quiet. So all thoughts of bringing that matter again into Parliament were laid aside; yet their Majesties proceeded in it slowly, and seemed unwilling to fill their Sees."*

But a storm was gathering in a quarter that Ken could have least expected. † Towards the end of this year his earliest friend, Francis Turner, was drawn into a scheme which nothing could justify or palliate: he had engaged with Lord Preston, and many other malcontents, in a plot un-English and un-Christian: no less than to bring back King James by aid of a French army, which must have spread desolation through the country. Turner had but lately disclaimed all thoughts of French intervention: he had declared his only desire was "to keep a conscience void of offence, to study to be quiet, and to bear his crosses patiently." It is unaccountable that he should

* Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 104.

† In the Life of Ken, in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iv. p. 2817, it is said,

"He meddled not with any of the disputes or attempts of his party. 'Tis not improbable that he had been often solicited to engage in these, especially since we find his particular friend Dr. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, so deeply involved therein. But it seems, he cared for none of those things, and he never spoke more sincerely the truth from his heart, than we see it expressed in the following lines;

'I gladly wars ecclesiastic fly,
Where'er contentious spirits I descry;
Eaf'd of my sacred load, I live content;
In Hymns, not in disputes, my passion vent.'"

Dedication to his four Vols. of Poetry.

so soon forget all these professions, and compromise his own character, and that of his Brethren?*

It is vain to assert that this plot was but pretended. The proofs are conclusive, that the scheme was deeply laid; and had it been accomplished, confusion and bloodshed were the certain results. The Government being apprised of the conspiracy, Lord Preston, and one Ashton, were seized on their passage to France, and a packet of letters for King James was found upon them: amongst others, were two from the Bishop of Ely, in which he says, "I speak in the plural, because I write my elder brother's sentiments, as well as my own, and the rest of the family, though lessened in number."† Burnet seems to admit that Turner wrote without any authority from the Archbishop,‡ who might, however, have sympathized in the object: as for "the rest of the family" (meaning the other Bishops) there was not the slightest ground of suspicion against Ken. But Lloyd of Norwich was in some fear of being arrested: he writes to the Archbishop,

* Turner had been one of James's Chaplains, when he was Duke of York; and it is remarkable that several of his Chaplains remained staunch to him after his reverses. A passage occurs in a letter of the 5th Jan. 1686, which proves the consistency of Turner's conduct, when it might be supposed, that his close relations to James and the Court, would make him silent or lenient towards the errors of Popery: "The Lord Almoner Ely, is thought to stand upon too narrow a basis in His Majesty's favor, from a late violent Sermon on the Fifth of November. I saw him yesterday at the King's Levee, and very little notice taken of him, which the more confirms what I heard." See Ellis's Original Letters, and Series, vol. iv. p. 84.

† State Trials, vol. xii. p. 715.

‡ Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 98.

" 24th Jan. 90-1.

" May it please your Grace,

" Ever since I wayted upon your Grace with the Deane of Worcester, I have been under a mortification, expecting dayly some from those in command, especially since a villanous scribler (one Dyer) hath published over the whole kingdom, that there was a warrant to apprehend me. I read this news-letter, and have it by me, and yet I can finde noe ground for the report, but the malice of the knave: however I kept within my borrough, and patiently expected what would ensue, *being assured of my innocency.* * * * * *

" God Almighty preserve your Grace, and us all, from the wrath and malice of our cruell enemies; soe heartily prays

" Your Grace's most humble Servant,

" W. N."*

Many noblemen, even of those who had been William's early adherents, were engaged in the plot. The Bishop of Ely absconded for a while,† and in spite of a Proclamation, and a reward offered for his discovery, eluded pursuit. He writes the following letter to Sancroft from his hiding place; and it proves that his Brethren had taken no part in the design:

* Tanner MSS.

† Evelyn, in his Diary, says, " Jan. 4. 1691.

This weeke a plot was discover'd for a generall rising against the new Government, for which (Henry) Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. Next day I went to see Lord Clarendon. The Bishop of Ely search'd for. Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hastened at the Old Bailey. Jan. 18. Lord Preston condemned about a design to bring in King James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bishop of Ely, Mr. Graham, &c., absconded." Vol. ii. p. 311. Curious details of this Plot against William, in which many high Whigs and Tories combined, are given by Dalrymple in his *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4to, vol. i. pp. 460 to 467.

"Munday Morning, Jan. 19. 1690-1.

"This bearer brings you something for your perusal, and then to be putt into the hands of Mr. Pitts, with your directions how he should manage them.

"You see, no disappointments, or discouragements shall (by the Grace of God) make me give over what I thinke my duty; *though I am disabled from doing any service at home, and must seeke abroad; I have almost settled my buisness, and laid my designs a little better, I hope, than the unfortunate Lord did, to gett out of their clutches; for, after so fatall a miscarriage, I'me well aware, there will bee no staying for me, unless I could find in my heart to make upp with the Government, which I abhor the thought of. It must at least cost me a long imprisonment, should I appeare, which is bad and hard enough, though I believe I could scarce bee a sufferer by any fair tryall. But what if it should prove a foule one?*

"Upon the whole matter I thinke mysele (blessed be God) mighty safe in my present concealment; and had I adjusted but the rest of my domestique settlements, I would vanish till another Revolution, if God lett me live to see it. Meantime, I hope in God, by the course I meane to take, I may putt my selfe into a better capacity than ever of serving the Church, as well as my country. But to tell my resolutions more particularly is not advisable at present, nor convenient for you to know them; rather lett me leave you in condition to protest your ignorance, if examined hereafter.

"*Nothing troubles me so much as that my intercepted letters (through the almost incredible supineness of the unhappy gentleman, and contrary to all the assurances hee gave us), may prejudice my Brethren.* But you must take paines to cleare yourselves, and protest your ignorance.

"I know not whether you'll think fitt to vindicate yourselves in print, considering how dear the last Vindication we publish'd cost us. I meane what cruel censures and displeasure it brought upon us, to redeeme which, that which I writt, and is seiz'd, was upon mature advice judged so

necessary. And you are too just to judge by events, when all due caution was us'd by me, though not by him that should have bin more circumspect. Doe what you will, and whatever you thinke most expedient, to take off any blame from yourselves, and leave me to shift for my selfe. Were I nere, this buisness should bring no further trouble uppon my Brethren. *I doe not thinke one hair of my head (or of my perrewig either) would turne the whiter for all these crosses.* My duty, where 'tis most due, and pray for me.

"This bearer knowes not where I am, yet if you write to me by him without superscription or ceremony (the more fully and freely the more obligingly) one will call for it, and bring it to me. I beg of you and the rest of my freinds to beleive, lett the worst that can happen to me, I will do none of them any harme." *

This was not the only time when Turner's zealous attachment to James led him into danger, and compelled him to hide. On a subsequent occasion, San-croft, writing to Lloyd of Norwich, in his sprightly way, gives us some notion of Turner's remarkable physiognomy, which he was afraid would betray him:

"Your Lordship whispered something in my ear, about a fort'night sence, concerning our good Brother, Francis of Ely, which makes me tremble, whenever I think of it. For tho', as Bishop Laney (who was much in London during the great Rebellion) was wont to say, 'London is a great wood, where he that would hide himself may most probably be concealed;' yet our friend is a very remarkable person, and one universally known and acquainted; and should he travelt himself into what habit he will, or spread a patriarchal Beard, or cover all with any sort of Perruke you can fancy; still there will be something that may discover him. Not

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 235.

of late only, but of old, the *παράσημον* of the vessel, the sign by which 'twas known, was in the Prow, or *Beak*: Acts 28. 11.* The only comfortable reflection in this case is, that God can hide whom he pleaseth in the Hollow of His Hand, or in the secret of His presence; and though the King and his Ministers fought Jeremiah and Baruch, to take them, yet the Lord hid them. May it be still so with our Friend; and though he be upon the brink of danger, yet some advantage may arise from his being so nigh (*—aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo*:) that there is an Oracle open'd to you for resolving any Queries you have lately been put upon to ask, concerning what past between King James, and the Bishops [just before the King's flight in 1688]. He had all my papers concerning those matters; and if all be restor'd, I am not yet come at them; and without them what can an old memory (which was never extraordinary) do, or perform? Why, I'll tell you what; it can readily record, and never forget your many friendly obligations, which you have laid upon—

“ *Il vostro, Il Tuissimo Titio, vel Sempronio.*

“ FRS^gf [Fresingfield], April 2nd, 1692.”†

Turner's letter shews, that he had serious thoughts of leaving the country: but he was spared that necessity. He and the others owed their safety to the characteristic calmness of William, who overlooked the treason of professing friends, and open foes. Lord Preston, tempted by a pardon, was examined in the King's presence:

“ He confessed against the Bishops, and Clarendon, and

* Turner's *Beak*, or Hook, though prominent enough to mark him, did not detract from his handsome and expressive countenance, which is handed down to us in the fine portrait of him in the Hall of New College, Oxford.

† Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

many of the known partizans of the late King. He then named among his associates, the Duke of Ormond, the Lords Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Brandon, and Mr. Pen the Quaker; and added, Pen told him that, although Lord Dorset, and Lord Devonshire had not attended the Conferences, they were of the party. He offered to name others of the great Whig-families. Lord Caermarthen, who had formerly, and lately, been persecuted by that party, eagerly pushed him on, bidding him go to the bottom of the Conspiracy. But the King, who stood behind Caermarthen's chair, and was then leaning over it, touched him upon the shoulder, saying, 'My Lord, there is too much of this;' and with equal prudence and generosity drew a veil over offences, into which the best of his subjects had been too hastily betrayed." *

It was a rare instance of clemency: whether it were the dictate of foresight, or the impulse of generous magnanimity, it deserves to be held in honour. One of William's distinguishing qualities was a disregard of praise, which he generally set down to the score of flattery; another was, indifference to the dislikes of men, which he always ascribed to their own interests. They who have been long and intently engaged in political strife become selfish; but William, though he seldom showed any tenderness of heart, or refinement of feeling, was at least free from the stain of mere vindictiveness.

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 467. "Yet, to prevent future mischief, he committed Clarendon to the Tower; and, not long after, sent Dartmouth to the same place, upon receiving certain information of a letter he had written to James, in which he assured that Prince of his resolution to quit the English service, and join him. Dartmouth died soon after in the Tower; and then the King ordered the Governor to pay to his corpse all the honours of war which were due to an Admiral of England." *Ibid.* p. 467.

We cannot be surprized that this event should seal the deprival of the Non-juring Bishops. They had rejected all the overtures made to them; and the late conspiracy convinced the government that the Oath of Allegiance, to be taken by all who held places of trust, was a necessary precaution for the public safety. Nevertheless, a compromise was once more attempted. It was proposed that the Bishops should make a declaration of innocence in the matter of the late conspiracy, and that a part of their revenues should be still allowed them. This was intimated to Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough, who promised to consult the Archbishop, Ken not being in London. Lloyd gives Sancroft this account of a conversation he held with one of the Courtiers :

“Yesterday Sir J. Trevor sent his chapplaine hither, to desire me to call upon him att Ely house; accordingly I went. He told me (after a great profession of kindnesse for your Grace and my selfe) that the whole Court, and in a manner all sorts of people, were very angry with us, upon the account of the late discovery. And that London, St. Asaph, and Caermarthen and Nottingham, vehemently pressed the filling up the vacant Bishopricks, and other livings and dignitys, even before K. W. went to Holland, but it tooke noe effect, for he sayd he would consider of that matter after his returne.

“He asked me, whether wee intended to vindicate our selves from the charge fixed upon us by the Bishop of Ely in his letters? I answered, that we could say nothing to that charge, haveing never seene or knowne what was in those letters.

“‘Why,’ says he, ‘that is true; but if you have a true copy of those letters, will you then, thinke fitt to doe it?’

“To this I sayd, that it containd many difficultys, as

experience taught us from our vindication of the *De-Witting* protest; for if wee did not come up to the terms expected at Court, wee should but provoke more than vindicate, and thereby bring greater hardships upon our selves. Whereupon he sayde, 'Give me leave to lay the argument before you as it's urged att Court and elsewhere; it's thus: either the Bishop of Ely says what is true, or what is false, in his letters lately taken. If the former, why then all the Non-sw:[earing] Bishops are in the Plott; if the latter, why doe they not vindicate themselves from that false aspersion? Now, fayth consider this, and doe as you judge meet:' and thus wee parted. St. Asaph and Dr. Sherlocke have discharged their gunns against the author of the Appendix.

"Your Grace's most humble Servant,

"W. N.

"I beseech your Grace that noe person whatever may know any of this Interloquutory between Sir J. and my selfe; as soone as it may be convenient for me to goe out of my burrough, I will waite upon your Grace."*

The Bishop of Peterborough went to Lambeth to converse with Sancroft, who thus expresses his opinion of the matter:—

"My good L^d,

"The B^p of P. was wth me y^e greatest p^t of y^e afternoon yesterday; and told me what had past between him and Mr. Bertie. The sum was, y^e y^e great L^d was of opinion, y^e we might have some p^t of our revenues allow'd us, if we would declare, &c., and y^e he wondered at o^r obstinacy y^e we had hitherto refus'd to do so necessary a th^g: and hereupon the Bp. s^d it was fitt we three sh^d meet about it; and he doubted not, y^e noth^g but want of health would hinder you frō meeting him here to-morrow morn^g. My L^d, it will be to my

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 237.

great advantage and contentm^t to see you on any occasion : but as to y^e pr^sent propos^l ; 1st. I see no reason why we sh^d declare anythg̃ concerng̃ a Surmise, wth is so far frō affectg̃ us, y^e 'tis not as yet legally prov'd upon y^e Bp. of Ely.—So y^e, should we fall a-declaring, and purging ourselves, before we are charg'd in form, Men and Angels will hardly be able to pen anythg̃, that will not be liable to a hundred cavills, and in fine prove a snare to us. 2^{ndly}. As to y^e 'regaining any of o^r revenues, 'tis *spes improba* to expect it can ever be ; and to be sure not without petitioning, wth will be another great snare ; and at last be pemptorily deny'd (wth nobody I think is in love wth) or clog'd with some curst Conditiõ, wth will leave us in worse condition, than we were in before we stirr'd int : not to conceal what y^e Bp. told me (I think from y^e same Gent) that our Revenues are already issued out of y^e Exchequer into y^e privy purse, and frō thence to a cert. virtuous Ladie [Elizabeth Villiers?], '*et ab inferno nulla redemptio.*'

"While we were together, y^e Bp. of London came in, and we were all two hours together. *O quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!* so kind, and debonaire, and so obliging, y^e it would have pleas'd you to observe it. But what past may be a p^t of o^r conversatiō to-morrow, if Tho. of P. can prevaile wth you to come. In y^e mean time, and ever, I remain

"Your's most unfaindly,

"April, 91." *

"W. C.

As nothing could move the Bishops from their purpose, a list was made of their intended Successors. They had accurate intelligence of what was passing at Court: Lloyd writes to Sancroft,

"24. Ap. 91.

"May it please your Grace,

* * * * *

"The enclosed List was sent me from the Attorney Gene-

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

ral's office last night, and I was told by another gent. that the same list was att the Secretary's office in Whitehall.

"Whether your Grace thinks fitt to acquaint my lords of Gl—r and B. and W—lls with this list, or give me orders to doe it, I submitt it wholly to your Grace's pleasure, and I humbly desire to know, whether any intimation shall be sent them to come up in this criticall tyme.

"Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop; Chichester [Dr. Simon Patrick] to Ely, Dr. Grove to Chichester, Dr. Beveridge to B. and Wells, Dr. Moore to Norwich, Dr. Cumberland to Peterbor., Bristoll* [Dr. Gilbert Ironside] to Hereford, Dr. Bathurst to Bristoll, Dr. Fowler to Gloucester, Dr. Sherlock Deane of St. Paul's, Dr. Comber† Deane of Durham."‡

To which Sancroft replies,

"Apr. 24th 1691.

"My dear Brother,

"I send you Mr. Fox; and send back yo^r News-papers. I pray you let me give you no more trouble of y^t kind: I hear news too much, unless it were better. Yesterday St.

* Sir John Trelawney, who was formerly at Bristol, had been already translated to Exeter.

† Although Bishop Ken and Dr. Comber were scarcely acquainted, they had a mutual respect for each other, as faithful opposers of the errors of Romanism. The Rev. Dr. Mathew Hutton, who seems, from the style of his correspondence, yet extant, to have been the intimate friend of Dr. Comber, addressed a letter to him from London, dated the 23rd of November, 1686, in which, among other matters, he informs him, that, according to his desire, he had presented his respects to the Bp. of Bath and Wells, who replied; "Dr. Comber I know by his writings, but never saw him unless once, and that transiently; but I receive commendations from so very good and learned a person much the more kindly, in regard he offers me his friendship, which I shall value very highly: and I entreat you to return him my hearty acknowledgments, and respects. *He is one of those who will stand in the gap.* I beseech God to preserve and support him." *Memoirs of Dean Comber*, 8vo, 1799, p. 221.

‡ Tanner MSS., vol. xxvi. fol. 82.

Afaph, and Tenifon, hav^e din'd with my L^d Clarendon in y^e Tower, came hither in y^e afternoon. I soon saw in y^e Bp's solemn gravity what news he was big wth: but stav'd him off for half an hour wth com^{on} discourse, as brisk as I could contrive it. But at last, out it must come; and then I lett him see y^e I knew more than he knew, or at least pretended to know: tho' Tenifon confirm'd all my p^{ar}ticulars. Your list is right throughout. Add only y^e Talbot (y^e Earl of Shrewsbury's brother) is Dean of Sarum. Yesternight y^e Bp. of London, * knowing nothing of these promotions, was ready to enter y^e Council Chamber; when a friend pull'd him by y^e sleeve, and shew'd him y^e whole scheme; whereupon he retreated. * * * * Our absent Brethren without all doubt will know y^e present Resolutions taken agst them (and so will all England) before o^r letters can come to y^m; nor do I affect to be y^e teller of ill news; tho' some others do, as it seems by what I wrote a little before. When they know it, it will be best, I think, to leave their coming up, or not, to their own resolutions; especially till we have resolv'd ourselves (with the Dr's.† advice) that we may have something to propound to them.

“In the mean time, and ever, I am

“Y^{or} faithf. Friend and Brother,

“W. C.”‡

* Compton, who expected to be made Archbishop.

† Probably Dr. Paman, Master of the Faculties, or Dr. Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, whose factious counsels continued, for many years, to exercise too powerful an influence over the extreme Non-jurors.

‡ Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ken is deprived of his Bishopric—Makes a Public Assertion in Wells of his Canonical right, and retires—His poverty—Lord Weymouth affords him an asylum at Long Leat.



HE deprivals of the Non-juring Bishops, which had been delayed more than a year beyond the limit of the Act of Parliament, were now permitted to take their course. Dr. D'Oyly gives the particulars of Sancroft's forced ejection from Lambeth.* He had resolved not to yield possession, until he was compelled to do so; but he made preparations for his departure.† On the 9th of April, he says to Lloyd,

"Apr. 29. 1691.

"My dear Friend,

"I begin as yesterday. *Colligo farcinas*: the Carpentars are wth me, putting up some of my luggage: but I must have silenc'd y^e hammers for some hours, to give any tolerable answer to so strange, and so busy a proposál [probably from the Government], if y^e expedient you ad-

* D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft. Edit. 1840, p. 279.

† He removed from Lambeth Palace, on the 23rd of June, 1691; but left his Steward, with orders to remain until the Under Sheriff came, when the man civilly obeyed the summons to depart.—Lloyd of Norwich, in anticipation of this, writes to the Archbishop, "I make no question but the *Musty* [Tillotson], and his fellows, will make use of the crafty method which your Grace mentions, and by the Tyrant's claws pull out the chefnutts for themselves." Tanner MSS., vol. xxvi. fol. 52.

vance in y^e close of your letter (sc,—y^e adjournm^t of y^e debate to a perſonal conference to-morrow morning betimes) had not reliev'd me. 'Tis true, it will be to you an unreasonable trouble (while I take my eaſe), and ſo it is, whenever I have the benefit of your converſation: but without any niceneſs, or affectation, I beg of you, y^t ſo it may be upō this perplext occaſion. I ſend back y^e enclōſed; but I pray bring it wth you to-morrow. The truth is, they deal herein wth yo^r Lo^p much more civilly than with me; for, wthout writing to me at all, they have comiſſion'd (y^e y^e word) y^t Fop, y^t Goffip, Grigg, to write and knock at my door about this fooliſh affair. Let them (if they will) conſult him, who brought them into y^e Oaths, y^e p^rjury, y^e aſſociation, and Rebellion. But I go too farr, till I have heard y^e Lo^ps opinion: *ſed quis tam ferreus, ut teneat ſe?* No more then till we meet: and in the mean time (and ever) God hold you in His holy keeping.

“Yo^r,

“W. C.”*

A month later he writes,

“Lambeth, May 24, 1691.

“My deare Brother,

“It is very true y^t I have been twice ſumōn'd to make way for the conſec^ron of J. T. [John Tillotſon] here upō Whitſunday: once in y^e beginn^g of y^e weeke by y^e Bp. of St. A—ph; and again, ſince y^t, by an Under Clerk of L^a N—hā: and both in y^e name of y^e Great Woman.† The ſumm of my anſwer was, that y^e warning was too ſhort; y^t they might, if they thought good, turn me into y^e ſtreet by force; but y^t I could not be ready by y^t time to remove. What further paſſed upō this occaſiō, I now omitt, being in hope to give you to-morrow y^e full relation of it: for which hope I thank you, and my good Brother of Peterborough.

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Queen Mary; William being abſent in Holland.

"I have been very busy, since I was warn'd hence, to putt my *impedimenta* in order to an Ejectm' or a Remove; and have made some progress in it: but it happens very well, that I had, before I heard frō you, forbidden y^e workmen to come to-morrow: so that you will come most seasonably. In the interim, and ever, God keep you under His protection.

"Your's, in all love,

"W. C."*

He retired, for the short remainder of his life, to a strict seclusion, in a small house at Fressingfield in Suffolk, which was his native village. There he lived for about two years, cheerful and resigned,—though an object of suspicion, and of watchful jealousy to the Government, who thought he was plotting the return of James,—calumniated by successful opponents,—and looked upon as a papistical Jacobite by the multitude. Even his admirers, and the friends of the Church lamented, that his conscientious refusal of the Oath should make way for Tillotson, as Primate, from whose low Church views they anticipated future evil. It must be admitted, that from this year of 1691 we are to date the downward progress of Catholic principles, discipline, and observances within the Church of England.

Sancroft left behind him, in the neighbourhood of London, his ever watchful and affectionate friend, Lloyd of Norwich: from him he received all the news of the town, and warnings against the "traps" of concealed enemies, and spies, who occasionally came to Fressingfield, under pretence of asking his advice for their own guidance. Lloyd executed all

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

his little commissions,—distributed his alms to the indigent clergy who were turned out of their benefices, forwarded to him all the books and pamphlets (which they called "*wash balls*" and "*rafors*"*) published in favour of the Non-juring party, and kept him advised of the proceedings against their Brother-bishops. Many of Sancroft's letters are very entertaining—here and there we have short, but ironical flings against the "supplanters," and "waverers," "Mufty" (as he calls Tillotson), and the "Danaos;" but his momentary ebullitions of spleen are at once dispelled by his constitutional equanimity, a witty remark, or "a touch of the ridiculous," which seems to have been natural to him, and pervades most of his letters.

On one occasion, Lloyd sent him intelligence that some person, already known to them as a caballer, would shortly come to him, who was going over to King James,—at St. Germain's. They suspected his

* "I have," he says to Lloyd, "all the *Wash-balls* you mention; and the two *Rafors* too. Upon my word, they are dangerous edg'd-tools; *ad vivum refecant*, and let the Artificer take heed he cuts not his own Fingers, or a more dangerous part. He is a Fool, or to speak a little softer, hath no Witt in his Anger, if he be between the four Seas; for so long (at least) he is continually *in acie Novacula*. But I have something else to blame him for; it is a two-edg'd weapon he gives us; and cuts on both sides. I will tell you how to find the very places where it does so, in some other letter hereafter." Sending Lloyd eighteen pounds, of which five were to be given to Dr. Brifby, five to Mr. Grascomb, and five to a Clergyman (named Lake), with nine or ten children, "who lately had employment in Norfolk, and hath honestly lost it"—he adds, "for the remaining 3^{lb} let it go, if you think fitt, to the encouragement of the *Wash-ball* makers, and *Stocking-sellers*." In another letter he desires that five pounds may be paid for him toward the procuring a new "*Silk-stock*ing Loom,"—meaning a Printing-press. Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

honesty, and when he got to Frefingfield, Sancroft “sat with him above an hour; seeming to be surprised, and as not knowing anything of his journey, or story.” The details of the interview are very curious, and show the sagacity and wariness of the old Prelate: the man wished for his advice, as to his own course, and to persuade him to receive another person, who was also an adherent of James, and to write to him. But Sancroft knew better: he thought “if the intention of going into France be high Treason, the being privy to such intention, and concealing it, will be Misprision: but I am not lawyer enough to pronounce.” So the man went away. “*Exit C—r.*” However, he sent a message by him to James,—

“But withall (y^t I might make some advantage to myself of o^r meet^s), I desir’d him to let our M^r [Master, King James] know where I am, and in w^t condition; a very old infirm man; driven frō my own House (and all y^t belongs to it) into y^e Wilderネス (with a 1000 malicious evil eyes look^s after me); confin’d to the poor House, in w^{ch} I was born; out of w^{ch} I stirr not, and where I neither desire, nor admitt much Company (good being scarce to be found here). So that in these circumstanes, being not capable of doing him any service, but by my daily praiers for him, wh^{ch} I shall never omitt; I most humbly begg, y^t no Letters, or Messages, may be hazzarded, or lost upō me; and yet y^t he will be so gracious as to believe, y^t (hav^e lost all else), I will sooner lose Life too, yⁿ quitt my Loyalty, or my Allegiance: w^{ch} Life I am not willing to throw away foolishly, and to no purpose; for thereby he would have one faithfull subject fewer, than he had before.”

He lamented the loss of the services in Lambeth

Chapel,* which he endeavoured to supply as well as he could; "I officiate myself every day, as oft as in Lambeth, tho' not in so much company, nor in so proper a place." None of his family went to Church,† but received the Holy Communion at home, and any of the laity, who desired it, were admitted to the daily office of prayer. "*As to the words of the COLLECT,*" [for the royal family] he did not pray for James by name, which would have been dangerous; but he says, "I cannot hold myself from running back to the practice of a former [he means during Cromwell's] time (as like this as one Cockatrice's Egg is to another) when not daring to name, nor yet wholly to omit, we said,—*'and all those, that we are bound to pray for;'* and so (directing the intention right) the Collect went on *sine latebris.*"

It is quite refreshing to read this venerable Confessor's familiar letters to Lloyd, teeming with senti-

* "There is noth^s y^t I regrett y^e los^s of, but Lambith Chapell, and y^e company of a few friends (and most especially of y^r Lohp), whō sometimes I had y^e happines to meet there, and whom (in spight of all y^t hath befallen me) I trust I shall meet still every day in y^r walk to Heaven; for y^t is almost all y^t is left us,—to pray for, and love one another." Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† In one of his letters he expresses his anger at Dr. Lake having "foully and scandalously belied him," in saying that he had gone to Church. "It is a strange thing, and almost unaccountable, how the persecution of the tongue still follows me. I flattered myself that after I had made such haste to escape away far off, and to remain in the wilderness, I should have been free from this strife of tongues: but I perceive by my Cofin that the D^r slander had fill'd the Citie, and many of my friends, who were griev'd at the report, came to him to be satisfied about it, and were so by hearing the bare matter of fact. And well they might be: for I have never been so much as once out of this house, and the yards, and avenues, since I first came hither from London; and we are a mile and a half distant from any Church."

ments of love and confidence, which seldom find their full expression, except between youthful friends. I must confine myself to one example, as it is time to return to Ken :

“ Frefingfield, Sept. 27. 1692

“ R^t Rev^d Father in God, and my dear Friend,

“ Whenever it shall please God to take you frō y^r Work to y^r Reward, he y^t shall have y^e hono^r to dress you up an Epitaph, will find (I doubt not) much matter, and of more moment, to be written in marble, than y^e Relation you are pleas’d in great kindness to own to y^r poor Friend. Sir F[ulke] Grevil, whō you quote, had first recorded himself the Translator of Vergil (whence his Anagram was *Grevilius Vergilianus*), and then Chancellor to Q. Eliz., and at last, *Friend to Sir Ph. Sidney*. As for me, I find another story, y^t fitts me better. Card. Damian’s true name was Peter; but having receiv’d many great kindnesses frō his Brother Damian, he styl’d himself in gratitude (and is so call’d to this day) *Petrus Damiani*; and y^e case was y^e same, and upon a like occasion, wth Eusebius Pamphili. But without troubling ourselves about our Epitaphs, since there are who, if they can, will leave us *nec nomen, nec memoriam supra terram*, let us rather continue to doe what is in our power: *colamus inter nos (ut facimus) hanc sanctam amicitiam; amemus invicem, et amemur; et rumpatur, quisquis rumpitur*.

“ You told me at y^e end of your letter (but too enigmatically) of y^r son’s sickness; yet I understood you, and was affected accordingly. But presently after two friends of St. John’s Coll. came to see me, and assur’d me of his recovery. Blessed be God, who I trust will perfect it, and preserve you. Amen.

“ *Io, il Vostro.*” *

He ends one of his letters with this prayer for a

* Dr. Williams’s Collection of Original Letters.

bleſſing on Lloyd, "Father of Mercies, and God of all Conſolation, look down from the height of Thy Sanctuary! O let the ſorrowfull ſighing of the priſoners come before Thee; and according to the greatneſs of Thy Power, preſerve Thou thoſe that are appointed to dy; Bleſs my dear Brother, and all that belong to him, and are in Communion with him. Amen."

In the caſe of Ken's deprival, ſome months' further delay ſtill intervened, from the difficulty of finding any one who would accept his Biſhopric. It was firſt offered to Dr. William Beveridge,* chaplain to William and Mary,—one of the moſt excellent and learned of the clergy. He had himſelf taken the Oaths; but entertaining the higheſt reverence for Ken's character, and thinking a lay deprival was uncanonical,† and beyond the limits of the civil power, he at once expreſſed his ſcruples. Nevertheless, he was diſpoſed to take the appointment, if his friends ſhould think it juſtifiable and expedient. Before the Archbiſhop had retired from Lambeth, Beveridge called at the palace to conſult him: but Sancroft, who was very unforgiving towards any of "the ſwearers," doubted the ſincerity of his ſcruples. Writing to Lloyd on the 20th of April, 1691, he ſays,—

* On the 23rd of April, 1691. See Le Neve's *Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*.

† Biſhop Patrick remarks, on his own acceptance of the See of Chi-cheſter (vacant by the death of the Non-juring Biſhop, Lake), that "it was the more valuable in many men's thoughts, becauſe it became void by the natural, not civil, death of the laſt Biſhop." It was for this, among other reaſons, that he could not but think of the Providence of God, in ſending him thither, rather than any other See. Patrick's *Auto-biography*, p. 147.

"Yesterday Dr. B. was long with me, and gave me a long Account of his averfnefs frō acceptūg y^e See of B. & W. becaufe the Bp. is his old friend, &c : and then aſkt my advice. I having firſt told him, '*if I ſhould give it, you will not follow it,*' yet did give it in plain words, and backt it wth reaſons, y^t I think might be ſufficient : But I believe, they'll have noe effect upō him : for all was but a Copie of his Countenance. You ſhall have all y^t paſſed on Friday, or when we meet next." *

Whilſt Beveridge remained in ſuſpenſe, Evelyn paid his reſpects to Sancroft, and it naturally formed a ſubject of converſation : he ſays,

"7th May.—I went to viſit the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and diſcourſing of the times, eſpecially of the new deſigned Biſhops ; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could juſtify the removing the preſent incumbents ; that Dr. Beveridge, deſigned Biſhop of Bath and Wells, came to aſk his advice ; that the Archbiſhop told him, though he ſhould give it, he believed he would not take it ; the Doctōr ſaid he would ; why then, ſays the Archbiſhop, when they come to aſk, ſay *Nolo*, and ſay it from the heart : there is nothing eaſier than to reſolve yourſelf what is to be done in the caſe ; the Doctōr ſeemed to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Biſhop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his dioceſe ; and, if he and the reſt ſhould inſiſt on it, and plead their intereſt as freeholders, it is believed there would be difficulty in their caſe, and it may endanger a ſchiſm and much diſturbance, ſo as wiſe men think it had been better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turn them out for reſuſing to ſwear againſt their conſciences. I aſked at parting, when his Grace removed ; he

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

said that he had not yet received any summons, but I found the house altogether disfurnished, and his books packing up."

Beveridge was a man of great erudition: he had through life acquired general esteem for his early piety, seriousness of mind, integrity, and gentle disposition. Such was his familiarity with the Oriental languages, that, at the age of eighteen, he had written a book on the excellency of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan tongues. His great work, published at the age of thirty-six, was, his Collection of the Apostolic Canons, and of the Decrees of the Councils, received by the Greek Church, together with the Canonical Epistles of the Fathers,* which rendered his name famous in foreign countries and at home. This immediately led to his appointment to the Rectory of St. Peter's, Cornhill, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London:

"Being thus placed in the centre of the metropolis, an enlarged sphere of usefulness presented itself to him. Accordingly, he revived among his parishioners the primitive practice of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper every Sunday; and (as we are informed by the Editor of one of his posthumous treatises) he applied himself with the utmost labour and zeal to the discharge of his ministry, in all its several parts and offices. 'How powerful and instructive was he in all his discourses from the pulpit! How warm and affectionate in his private exhortations! How orthodox in his doctrines! How regular and uniform in the public worship of the Church.'† In a word, so zealous was he, and

* *ΣΥΝΟΔΑΙΚΟΝ*: five *Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum, et Conciliorum*, ab Ecclesiâ Græcâ receptorum; nec non *Canonicarum SS. Patrum Epistolarum*: unâ cum *Scholiis*, &c. Oxonii, 1672, 2 vols. fol.

† He left by will twenty pounds a year to the curacy of Mount-Sorrel,

heavenly-minded in all the spiritual exercises of his parochial function; and his labours were so remarkably crowned with blessing and success, that, as he himself was justly styled the great reviver and restorer of Primitive Piety, so his parish was justly proposed as the best model and pattern for its neighbours to copy after." *

Thus Ken and Beveridge, born in the same year, resembled each other most remarkably in their pastoral character. Although the sermons of Beveridge were less perfect than Ken's, as specimens of fervid eloquence, and matchless force, they flowed from a heart equally glowing with love to their Divine Lord, and with zeal for the promotion of His glory. It has been forcibly said of the discourses of Beveridge, that

" Their great beauty is a tender and pathetic earnestness,— a strong and affectionate appeal to the heart and conscience,— a close and personal application of the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel; which, however powerful to save, or to reform, are actually effective through this *personal application* alone:— such an exhibition of the great truths of Revelation, as warms while it enlightens, and kindles the flame of devotion with the torch of knowledge."—" While the acute and powerful intellect of Barrow leads him to a calm and close investigation, and enables him to exhibit his principles in every variety of light and position, and to enforce them with the whole weight of

and the Vicarage of Barrow, in the County of Leicester, "on condition, that prayers be read, morning and evening every day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in the Chapel, and parish Church aforesaid." *Biographia Britannica*, article "Beveridge," vol. ii. p. 783. He left a considerable part of his estate to the Societies for *Propagating the Gospel*, and *Promoting Christian Knowledge*.

* *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. William Beveridge, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph.* By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. London, 8vo, 1824. Privately Printed. Preface to Beveridge's *Private Thoughts on Religion.* 8vo, 1709, vol. i. p. cxxi.

rational and scriptural proof,—the warm sensibility of Beveridge enters, with a deep and affectionate personality, into the delivery of his sacred message; and gives to his expostulations and instructions a power and authority almost Apostolic. It is not, perhaps, every reader who can reason and investigate with Barrow, but all can feel with Beveridge; and the conscience will often be awakened through the affections, when all the force of rational demonstration might have been applied in vain."*

Perhaps it is not too much to say, that if Ken could have named a successor under whose pastoral care he might hope to see his beloved flock preserved in the same pastures of wholesome doctrine and discipline, he would have chosen Beveridge. Indeed, when such men as Lowth, Hooper, Beveridge, Thomas Wilson, the ever-venerable Bishop of Sodor and Man, and many others, could conscientiously take the Oath of Allegiance to William, we cannot wonder that Ken should have had misgivings of his own refusal to do so, involving, as it did, so many serious, and nicely balanced difficulties. The selection of such a man was creditable to the Government, and to Tillotson; and Sancroft might have spared his mistrust of Beveridge's honest scruples: for the result proved his want of penetration in this instance. The hesitation of Beveridge, however, called forth a short, but emphatic, remonstrance from a friend, whose opinion (though a much younger man) would naturally carry great weight with it. This was Dr.

* Horne's Memoir of Beveridge, p. 39. Letters on Prejudice, vol. ii. pp. 363, 4.

William Lowth, an eminent Hebrew scholar of his day,* whose learning and virtues were scarcely inferior to his own, who had, like himself, taken the Oath, but thought it a schismatical act in any one to obtrude himself into a sacred office, uncanonically declared to be vacant. He addresses his letter to Beveridge, as to a Bishop :

“ May it please your Lordship,

“ You must be sensible, in what great reputation all the well-minded, learned, and judicious men have had your laborious performance upon the Laws and Cannons of the Church ; but notwithstanding, since you have accepted a Nomination to the Bishoprick of B. and Wells, of which See Dr. Kenn is the Canonick Proprietor ; and haveing not bein removed by his Brethren, the Bishops, something more is required of you, whereby its comportment with those Church Laws may appeare, soe frequently forbidding two Bishops to be in one City. It’s well knowne, what separations the same practise hath bred in God’s Church, and also, that her decition hath still bene against them ; if then the same return, the guilt and schism of it must be layd at your doore, unlesse you can produce such grounds for the present practise, whereof not onely yourfelfe, but the Antient Church may heretofore bene ignorant. Theese are the sentiments of many who have formerly bene your just admirers, and desire that you will give them noe occasion of taking new measures concerning you, and particularly of him, who, notwithstanding

* Author of the Commentaries on Isaiah, and other Prophets ; he was a man of most exemplary character, and father of Dr. Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, who inherited all his virtues, and surpassed him in Hebrew learning, and in fame ; his Lectures, “ *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum*,” and his Translation of Isaiah from the Hebrew, having placed him in the first rank of Biblical scholars.

he may noe longer (upon the accompt of your present promotion) write himselfe your Brother, yet will always remaine,

“ Yours in the faith and discipline of
the Antient Church,

“ [WILLIAM LOUTH.]”*

No doubt the reasonable objections of such men as Lowth had more influence with Beveridge than the taunts of Sancroft. He deliberated for three weeks,† and declined the appointment. This unexpected decision, and the delay it occasioned in filling up the Bishopric, caused great displeasure at Court;—and the more so because the opinions of one so temperate and respected would naturally influence other men; and although his scruples might have arisen partly from his friendship towards Ken, they were known to be grounded on far deeper feelings for the Church, which could not but suffer from the Erastian, and uncatholic deprivation of so pious and beloved a Bishop by the lay power. He could not doubt, that he would incur the anger of the Government, and of his friends who had depended on his justification of their measures. He knew that he would effectually exclude himself from promotion. This proved to be the case,

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvi. fol. 77. This is not in the hand-writing of Lowth,—but is a copy, sent by Lloyd of Norwich to Sancroft. I have ascribed, and I believe correctly, the authorship of this letter to William Louth, but it is a fair question, whether it might not have been written by the Rev. Samuel Lowth, who published, in 1696, “*Historical Collections concerning Church affairs, proving the Unlawfulness of Lay Deprivations; with some observations on Dr. Hodg’s Book, entitled, The Case of the Sees vacant.*”

† “*Tribus Septimanis meditando Episcopari noluit.*” Kennet’s Collections, Lansdown MSS. 987.

until the grave had closed over those friends and their repentments.*

No sooner was the refusal of Beveridge generally known, than a pamphlet appeared in "Vindication of their Majesties' authority to fill the Sees of the Deprived Bishops." It is evidently written by one who had a great respect for Beveridge, and therefore breathes a more moderate tone than was usual at this time of polemical animosity. The author of the "Letter" urges the person to whom it is addressed, to try and persuade Beveridge to "correct his mistake," and do justice to the Government, "though he may repent too late to do himself any good." One or two short paragraphs will not be out of place, as they throw some light on the main argument:

"May 20. 1691.

"Sir,

"The account we have receiv'd here of D. B——'s refusal of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, hath occasion'd great talk, and different censures, as Men are divided in their interests and opinions. I know not what to think of it, because I know not the reasons for which he did it; but it is an unhappy Amusement at such a time as this, to which a wise man, who had well considered consequences, would not have given the occasion. I hope it may end all in noise, without any mischievous effects: but considering how many there are, who are very watchful to improve every accident to the disturbance of the Government, and to unsettle men's minds, I cannot forbear giving you my thoughts about it; tho' my tender regard for the person concern'd, would have made me silent at any other time.

* He was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph at the nomination of Queen Anne, in 1704.

“ It may so happen, that the person depriv’d, and the person to be promoted, have been old and intimate friends ; and this may grate hard upon the person to be promoted, to succeed in the chair of one whom he loves, whose misfortune he pities, and whom he greatly values for his other many good qualities. Now if to refuse such a preferment, would keep my friend possess’d of it, there were some sense in this ; but I know no other case, wherein ’tis thought a breach of friendship to succeed a friend in a preferment which he has lost, and which the law says is not, and shall not be his ; when there is no suspicion of foul play in supplanting him, any more than to succeed a dead friend. Friendship is so far from being any reason against it, that it should make it desirable to both ; to one, that his friend may get what he has lost ; to the other, that he may have opportunity, if there be occasion for it, to make his friend’s misfortune more easie than a stranger would do.

“ If the depriv’d Bishop be the only lawful Bishop, then the people and clergy of his Diocese are bound to own him and no other ; then all the Bishops, who own the authority of a new Arch-bishop, and live in communion with him, are Schismatics : and the Clergy, who live in communion with Schismatical Bishops, are Schismatics themselves : and the whole Church of England now establish’d by law is Schismatical, and Dr. B—— himself a Schismatick, if he communicate with it. And thus we have no Church, or only a Schismatical Church, as well as no King : and all that Dr. B—— has got by refusing a Bishoprick, is to prove himself a Schismatick, if he live in Communion ; or to make a Schism, if he separate from it.

“ I am, Sir, your humble Servant.” *

* A Vindication of their Majesties’ Authority to fill the Sees of the Depriv’d Bishops. In a Letter out of the Country, occasion’d by Dr. B——’s Refusal of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells. A Collection of State Tracts, published on occasion of the late Revolution. Fol., 1705, vol. i. p. 635.

The refusal of Beveridge gave a short respite to Ken. On the 18th of May, Sancroft writes to Lloyd,

"Tis well we hear nothing of our Brother of B. & W. In this case, no news is good news." On the 26th, "Tis a wonder nothing is done yet against our Brother of B. & W. But I am afraid, that at last *tarditatem supplicii atrocitate compensabunt*. For they are very Stoicks: *nesciunt misereri, vel parcere*." And again, on the 30th, "Tis a wonder that the severity goes not on to our poor Brother of B. & W. I am afraid he cannot long escape it." *

At length it was decided to give Bath and Wells to a worthy man, but one in no respect comparable to Beveridge. Dr. Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough, had published several learned books,—sermons on practical holiness, and some tracts against Popery.† The principal events of his life are recorded, in his own hand, in a MS. which is to be found among the papers of the Chapter House at Wells. It bears indisputable evidence of a truthful mind.‡ He was privately ordained to Holy Orders in the time of Cromwell, when it was attended with some danger, by Brownrigg, the then deprived Bishop of Exeter. At the Restoration, he was himself deprived of his vicarage (of Stanground, in Huntingdonshire, and Diocese of Lincoln) under the Act of Uniformity,

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† He wrote also the interesting Life of the Rev. Anthony Horneck, a man of most estimable and holy character.

‡ The greater portion of this Autobiography was published by the late Rev. Stephen Hyde Cassan, in his "Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells." A very interesting and useful work, in 8vo, 1829.

which required the Clergy to declare their adherence to the Book of Common Prayer by a certain day : not that he, though born of a dissenting family, had any objection to Episcopacy, and a Liturgy,—but because the Books of Prayer had not been forwarded to that part of the country where he lived by the time appointed. He used all possible means, but was not able to obtain the sight of a copy until too late; rather, therefore, than make a Declaration of Faith, in ignorance of what it really was, he forfeited his Vicarage. “ I was deprived of my living,” he says, “ for not subscribing a Book, that was not, as it ought to have been, laid before me.”* Such a man could not long remain neglected : he afterwards received several preferments ; and in 1688 Sancroft offered him the living of Sundridge in Kent, worth at that time 200*l.* a year, which he did not accept.† After the Revolution, he was made Chaplain to William and Mary, and Dean of Peterborough.‡ We cannot have a better authority than his own for an account of his appointment to Bath and Wells : he says,

“ In the spring of 1690, I waited on their Majesties as chaplain. About that time there was much discourse about disposing of the vacant Bishoprics ; and the late Archbishop, then Dean of St. Paul’s, proposed to me that of Peterborough, where I was at that time Dean. I refused it absolutely ; and a while after that I gave him my reasons, in a letter, why I did

* Cassan’s *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*, Part ii. p. 113.

† Ibid. Part ii. p. 139. Robert Nelson testified his favourable opinion of Kidder by recommending him to Tillotson, when Dean of Canterbury, for the Living of Barnes.

‡ Ibid. Part ii. p. 140.

refuse it. I added also, that I cared not to accept of any other Bishopric. And this I did that I might avoid farther solicitations that way. Sometime after this I went to Norwich,* and was very secure that I should now hear no more of a Bishopric. I had not been long there before I heard the news of filling up the vacant Sees. Dr. Beveridge I found was nominated to Bath and Wells. *But he refused it, and it continued vacant a considerable while after the other Sees were filled. I had letters from my friends, in which they sometimes mentioned me as likely to be nominated to it. But I did not fear that, having dealt so plainly with the then Archbishop. Had I been offered that of Chichester, perhaps, I had not refused it. But that was full when I left town, and was, after I came to Norwich, disposed of.*

“ I did, while I continued at Norwich, after great impurity, write to my friend Dr. Williams, that *I would not be so stiff as absolutely to refuse a Bishopric, excepting that of Bath and Wells, which I was not willing to take. He soon told part of this to the Archbishop, that is, he told him I was willing now to take a Bishopric when offered, but he concealed my exception against Bath and Wells. He is alive and knows this to be true. I knew very well I should be able to do less good if I came into a Bishopric void by deprivation. I had never in my life come into a place of that nature. I had suffered that way, but never done any thing of that kind. I was, however, thoroughly satisfied that those men who now succeeded the deprived Archbishop and Bishops in Canterbury, Gloucester and Peterborough and Ely, were men ‘of whom the world was not worthy.’*

“ From Norwich I went to Peterborough, to my residence, as Dean. Having spent some time there, a messenger came from Norwich, on purpose, with a letter from the late Archbishop, who, when he wrote it, supposed me to be at Norwich. ’Twas to let me know, from the Queen’s direc-

* Where he had a Prebend.

tion, *that I was nominated to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, and that the Earl said, I must not refuse it. I was, upon the reading of it, in such trouble and consternation as I have seldom been in during my whole life. I saw the strait I was then in. If I took this Bishopric, I well knew I must meet with trouble and envy. If I refused, I knew the consequence of that also, especially Dr. Beveridge having so lately done it.*

"After some days I returned my answer, and 'twas to this effect :—That unless her Majesty would excuse me, and think of some other person, I would accept of the Bishopric. And this I did perhaps not so wisely as I should. I cannot say I did it against my conscience ; but of this I am sure, that since I have considered things better, I should not have done it were it to do again. I did not consult my ease. *I have often repented of my accepting it, and looked on it as a great infelicity.*" *

Dr. Markland gives (as we might always expect from him) an impartial character of Kidder :

* Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*. Part ii. pp. 142 to 144. It could not be expected, that Kidder should escape the ribaldry and pasquinades of the Coffee Houses, in that day of venomous party spirit. In the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. pp. 268, 270, there is "A Catalogue of Books of the newest fashion, to be sold by Auction, at the *Whigs' Coffee-House*, at the sign of the *Jackanapes*, in *Prating Alley*, near the *Deanery of St. Paul's*. Quarto, containing 8 pages." In this Catalogue we meet with No. "14.—SEMPER IDEM: or, A Covenanter in 47 [1647], an Engager in 52, a Negative and &c. Oath-man in 57, a Surplice-Renouncer in 61, a Conformist, and Covenant Renouncer in 64, a Rebel in 88, a scandalous Intruder in 90, and a Judas always ; by R——d K——r [Richard Kidder] and several others: dedicated to undipt *John* [Tillotson], and are to be sold at the *Windmill*, in *Turncoat Alley*: where are Alcorans or Bibles, Common-Prayers or Mass Books, Geneva Clokes or Gowns and Cassocks, Mitres or Turbants, of all sorts and sizes, for the use of the persevering Confessors aforesaid."—And, in "Cafes of Conscience and Queries," appended to the Catalogue, occurs the following ; "Whether Richard of Kidderminster had not much more Episcopacy and uniformity in him, than our St. Richard Kidder." The allusion to "*undipt John*," that is, to Tillotson's want of valid Baptism, is utterly groundless: see Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 3.

"He was a divine of considerable learning, and of great industry, but his views of Church matters—in consequence perhaps of faulty teaching, and early associations in troublous times,—appear through life to have been unsettled and confused." * * * "The charge which he delivered in 1692 contains much that is creditable alike to his piety and earnestness, and when we remember how heartily his Predecessor had recommended catechetical instruction, it is satisfactory to observe the importance which this Prelate attached to that duty." "When treating of the Sacraments, he takes almost the lowest possible ground; and it may perhaps be in allusion to this, that Ken felt himself justified in using the strong language previously quoted. Of the Sacrament of Baptism Kidder simply says, 'that it is the Sacrament of Initiation;' and of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 'that it is commanded by our dying Master as a standing memorial of His Death and unparalleled Love.' Without placing the burning words of Hooper, and Andrewes, and Ken in juxtaposition with these passages, had this Prelate turned to the Homilies, he would have found how strongly our venerable Reformers would have condemned him." *

Ken soon received intelligence of Kidder's appointment. He must long since have expected a successor, and in his own mind have resolved what he would do. He set off to his nephew, Isaac Walton, at Poulshot, on his way to Wells: he thus calmly expresses his feelings, in a letter addressed,

* Markland's *Life of Ken*, pp. 89. 93. Bowles says, "the greatest charge against Kidder was, that of admitting into the Communion of the Church learned and exemplary Dissenters, *without recantation*." Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 247. This is certainly confirmed by reference to Kidder's *Autobiography*, in Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*.

"FOR MRS. GREGGE.*

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"GOOD MRS. GREGGE,

"If you hear any thing from my friends, direct your letter, not to me, but to Mr. Isaac Walton, Rector of Poulshot, to be left at the Post House in Devizes; for to his house, I am now, God willing, going for some time; partly for my health, partly to avoid that cloud under which I lye (and chiefly from my brethren, God forgive them for it) as having done all that is proper for me to doe to assert my character, the doing of which has created me many enemies, as I expected it would. †

"My brother of G——r [Gloucester] is, I hear, out of harm's way, in Wales, at the present, but I have heard nothing from him.

"My best respects to my good mother and to dear Miss, who, I doubt not, behaves herself with all decency, and piety, and humility, as becomes not only the daughter of a Bishop, but a Bishop in affliction.

"*Dr. Kidder is now said to be my successor, or rather supplanter. He is a person of whom I have no knowledge.* ‡ God

* This letter is first given in Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 192. He says it is only an extract. The original is in the possession of Sir Alexander Malet. Who is Mrs. Gregge? Most probably it was a pretended name,—to prevent its being stopped at the Post-office,—but really written to Lloyd of Norwich: the reference to "my good mother" points to Mrs. Lloyd, and "dear Miss" was their daughter, who had a great talent for music, and to whom Sancroft gave a musical instrument. He used also to address Lloyd as "Mistress Lloyd." Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 43.

† This is probably in allusion to the censures which were cast upon him for asserting his rights, and performing his episcopal duties, to the very last; which is thus recorded of him. "*Kennus interim exautoratus munus Episcopale aliquandiu exercere ausus est, conciones palam habendo, et pueros in Ecclesiis confirmando.*" Lansdown MSS., Brit. Mus., 987.

‡ Although he might not have known Kidder personally, he must have heard of him by reputation; and probably this is only an instance

of His infinite goodness multiply His blessings on yourselfe, and on my good friends with you, and enable us to do, and to suffer His most holy will.

“ Your very affectionate friend,

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS.”

Kidder was consecrated at Bow Church, on the 30th of August, 1691, by Tillotson, the new Archbishop, three others of the new Bishops, and Burnet of Salisbury. This legal act against him being accomplished, the course which Ken adopted was precisely what might have been expected of him. He went to his Palace at Wells: but he neither waited to be turned out by the Sheriff, which might have caused some scene of confusion, derogatory to his sacred office: nor did he retire privately, as if afraid to make a public protest against the intrusion, or to assert the inalienable rights of the Episcopate. Had he even acted too submissively in obedience to the civil power, and so thus had compromised those rights, Burnet ought to have been the last man to reproach him, because he was himself the principal adviser of all the measures against him,—and had just put hands on his uncanonical successor. But, with his usual party zeal,—to give it no harsher term,—he charges this supineness against all the Non-juring Bishops—and even against Sancroft in particular: “ he never took upon him to act with his Archiepiscopal authority. He never stood upon his right, nor complained of wrong in any public act or protestation.” And

of his moderation in censure. Afterwards, when he saw how Kidder administered the Diocese, he was less reserved.

again, "he never by any public or express act declared himself; *and all the rest followed his example, and continue to this day silent.*" *

Some years afterwards this was urged as an argument against the Non-jurors continuing to separate themselves from the public Communion of the Church :

"Some of our Holy Fathers," says a temperate and intelligent writer, who had much respect for them, being himself a Non-juror, "deprived by an act of State for not complying with the new Oaths, gave over acting, and submitted readily to their suspensions; some retired from their Dioceses, and never returned to them after, to take any the least cognizance of their respective charges. Here were no intrusions;—the new consecrated Bishops came peaceably, without any opposition, into the Sees that were vacant, so far as absence or non-residence made them such—or even Cession could make them (in most senses of the word Cession) by entering no manner of protestation against their elections, consecrations, or installments (which is looked upon as very material in those cases) or by refusing them possession of all things, excepting in the case of the Archbishop." †

This is incorrect, as applied to Ken: we have, in his own words following, an account of what he did, on retiring from Wells:

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"Good Mr. Harbin,†

"You tell me that Mr. Pitts censures the deprived Bishops for not asserting their rights in a public manner at their de-

* The Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 97.

† The Character of a Primitive Bishop, in a Letter to a Non-juror. 8vo, 1709, p. 84.

‡ This was Mr. George Harbin, of whom we shall occasionally hear more,—as he was Chaplain to Lord Viscount Weymouth, at Longleat,

privation. If he puts me among the number, he does me wrong; for I, at the time, in *my Cathedral*, which was the proper place, *from my Pastoral Chair*, publicly asserted my canonical right, professing that I esteemed myself the Canonical Bishop of the Diocese, and that I would be ready, on all occasions, to perform my pastoral duties.

"I professed that not being able to make this declaration to the whole diocese, I made it virtually to all by making it in the *Market Square*. What others of my brethren did I know not; but I acted as uniformly as I could. God keep us in His holy fear.

"Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

"T. B. AND W." *

Sancroft, writing to Sir Henry North, on Aug. 19, confirms the fact of Ken's public vindication of his

and therefore a frequent companion and correspondent of our Bishop. He was a Non-juror, though his name does not appear in the list of Non-jurors, given by Bowles in his *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 176 to 185, and pp. 203-4; but will be found in the Appendix to Kettlewell's *Life*, p. xviii. Anthony Wood thus mentions him in his own *Life*: "Sept. 25, 1695, dined with Dr. Charlett [Master of University College], Gandy, Creeck, and one Harbin, a Clergyman, and a Cambridge man by education, sometime Chaplain to Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, but a Non-juror, and in a lay habit. He was desirous to see me, so Dr. Charlett sent for me; he complimented me much, and told me of several matters in his book." *Life of Anthony à Wood*. It does not appear that his book was ever published. He was a man of literary and historical pursuits. Ken often mentions him, and when he writes, addresses him as "worthy Mr Harbin," and "good Mr. Harbin," and says in one of his letters that "Lord Weymouth had a great esteem of him, and that very deservedly." *Round's Prose Works of Bishop Ken*, pp. 44, 53, 85, 88, 89, 93, 108. In a letter addressed to Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, dated Wimpole, December 25th, 1731, we have this testimony to the worth of Harbin; "I am happy at home with Mr. George Harbin, and Dr. Middleton; both desire you will accept their hearty service." *Hearne's Correspondence in the Bodleian*, vol. viii.

* *Round's Prose Works of Ken*, p. 44.

rights, and wonders that it did not get him into trouble with the Government: he says,

“It grieves me to have missed (when I was so nigh it) the seeing of my Reverend Brother of Bath and Wells. I am not surprized to hear, that his innocency and courage were so bold as to appear openly; but I am (I confess) that he did it safely. In that condition God preserve him and the rest; and especially my dear Brother of Norwich, to whom, I pray, when you see him, mention my kindest and most hearty respects.” *

And in a letter to Lloyd he says,

“I am glad our Brother of B. and W. gott off safe: 'tis the soldier's master-piece to make a retreat well.” †

Thus it was he took leave of his people. The same crowds, who but six short years before had welcomed him to the Pastoral Chair, now assembled with heavy hearts, and tearful eyes, to hear him from the same place of authority assert his canonical rights, consecrated, as they had been, by a zealous and devoted exercise of them,—to receive his farewell blessing, and his promise of never-ceasing prayers on their behalf. How endeared to his flock must such a man have been, living constantly among them! how unspeakably valuable his endeavours, “according to his poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God.” ‡ By his example and counsels he had been a solace to the afflicted, and the support of humble souls, overwhelmed with the burthen of con-

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 283.

† Dr. Williams's *Collection of Original Letters*.

‡ *Dedication of the Practice of Divine Love*.

scious sin; to all he had been a ghostly father, benefactor, and friend; God's almoner, and the dispenser of His grace.*

Bishop Kidder went down to Wells in September, and was installed in person. Meanwhile Ken had withdrawn, being satisfied to have made his public protest from the Pastoral Chair in his Cathedral, and at the Market Square. Having dedicated his all to charity, he had made little provision for himself: for, as Hawkins says, "his charity was so extensive, and he had so little regard to future contingencies, that when he was deprived by the State, *all his effects, by the sale of his goods*, excepting his books (which he never sold) would amount to no more than seven hundred pounds."† It is a bright example of simple faith and reliance upon God. The best of us are fear-

* He found, and he left, in the Deanery of his Cathedral, the accomplished Dr. Ralph Bathurst, with whose dawning reputation, and perhaps his person, he must have been familiar at College. It is said of him that in his government of the Church of Wells, which he held thirty-four years, he preserved the most perfect harmony between himself and the Canons; by which happy circumstance he made a noble stand against their Bishop, Kidder, who had attempted some encroachments on their privileges. His hospitality, during his residence at the Deanery, was remarkably liberal, and his gratuitous assistance was always ready to relieve such as stood in need of his skill as a physician. He died at a ripe old age in 1704; though he bequeathed rings to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the deprived Bishop Frampton, and to many other Divines, the name of Ken does not occur. Warton's *Life of Ralph Bathurst*, pp. 198, 214. Mr. Edwin Sandys, Archdeacon of Wells, was one of those who always thought themselves happy to have Ken under their roof, after he was deprived. Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 259. And we have evidence in Kidder's Autobiography how Sandys, and others, disapproved of Kidder's laxity in ordaining persons of questionable orthodoxy.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 22.

ful of being dependent; to lay by something seems due to ourselves, and to friends upon whom we should have to rely in case of absolute need. But Ken had saved nothing: he had given away all but the furniture of his palace, some horses that were indispensable for his journeys, and his books.

The world might think his poverty the hardest part of his lot,—his voluntary submitting to this, rather than yield his principles, the surest mark of his devotedness. It was, in truth, the least of his cares. Deeper wounds caused his sufferings, for they reached him through the bosom of the Church. The schism, occasioned by the uncanonical deprivals, and his being forced of necessity to leave his people to the guidance of a “Traditor,” were his real anguish. The general laxity of discipline, and the neglect of services,—the Erastian principles, which had already begun to prevail in the Government of the Church, and have gone on increasing to this our day, were harder for him to endure than his expulsion from hearth and home. Poverty fell light upon him; for he had lived secretly poor in the outward state of a palace: chastening his desires by habits of mortification and self-denial. They only suffer from the loss of luxuries, who have trained themselves to the use of them. Ken had followed the footsteps of his Master, mortifying his appetites in the midst of abundance: he seemed to enjoy a nearer approach to Him, now that he was going forth without a place he could call his own. These are not mere words;—they who have been most familiar with tears can testify, that when affliction has sent them to the Fountain of all true joy,

they have drawn forth a supply of water-brooks more abundant, and sweeter than any earthly consolations.

Moreover, Ken's life had been one of continual devotion: and whenever did fervid, heartfelt prayer, offered up in humble faith to the God of comfort, fail, in due time, to receive its answer? May be, the special blessings he had asked,—of peace to himself, and to the Church, might not come; perchance, the answer now was to be the very afflictions he had prayed against. But did he, therefore, doubt the promise of help in his time of need? Rather he would say, "*though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.*"* The oil of gladness, which had been preparing, proved more fragrant than he could have dreamt of. The answer of refreshment came from an unexpected quarter:—a garner full of provision for the future, without daily preparation or thought:—not crumbs from the rich man's table, but an honourable seat in the guest-chamber,—choicer viands (if such he had desired) than ever graced the frugal board in the Palace at Wells, from which his loving poor ones used to carry away the fragments. The Lord had provided manna for him,—a constant and fresh omer-ful: he "had nothing over,"—he "had no lack."†

Now, being brought to the test in this trial of his faith, he was to verify the reality of his dependence on God, of which he had so forcibly spoken, six years

* Habak. ii. ver. 3.

† Exod. xvi. ver. 18

before, in his sermon at Whitehall, on the character of Daniel :

“ When his duty to God, and obedience to his King, stood in competition, though it was inexpressible grief to the good man, that ever there should be such a competition, he obeyed God, and patiently suffered the King’s displeasure.” “ When we have in vain tried all other methods, there is nothing stable but virtue ; nothing that can keep us steady in all revolutions, but the Love of God ;—and when the worldly wise men, and the mighty fall by their own weakness, or moulder by the decays of time, or wear out of fashion, or are overwhelmed by a deluge of envy, or are blown away by the breath of God’s displeasure,—or when the World, of its own accord, frowns and forsakes them, and their name and memory perish,—the man that loves God is still the same, God whom he loves is still the same, with Him is no variableness, nor shadow of turning,—his incentives are still the same, infinite philanthropy, lovingkindness and amiableness ;—his End is still the same, the Glory of his *Beloved* ;—his duty is still the same, and has a goodness essential and unchangeable ; his Retreat to a peaceful conscience is still the same ; his Assistances have still the same sweet force ; his Ambition the same heavenly prospect ; his Designs, and Affections, and Resolutions have still the same Center ; his Will is in the disposal of the same gracious Providence ; his very Afflictions meet in the same point with his Prosperity, and both work together for his good. Search now, and see, if over the whole Universe you can find a place of Rest, a steady Happiness in anything, but in the LOVE OF GOD, and you will return with Solomon’s account, *all here below is vanity and vexation of spirit.*” *

Nor can we suppose that the Cathedral, and the Market-place of Wells, bounded the view of Ken, who

* Round’s Prose Works of Ken, pp. 168, 171.

habitually realized the presence of the spiritual world. The sorrow of his people, if it were in one sense a solace to his feelings, added to his regret at leaving them. But he had far better comforters at hand:—he never, for a moment, doubted that the “Bless’d Angels” would “bestow their guardian cares, to comfort, counsel, warn, defend” him. His Poems, written for his own and others’ consolation, and not intended to be published in his life time, unlock to us the inmost recesses of his heart, which yearned upwards, as if to be taken far away,—that he might

“ In endless praise with th’ heavenly choir,
Incessant sing, and never tire.”

See his hymn for the Festival of St. Michael and all Angels:

“ GREAT GOD! for aid, and for defence
Which Angels in our need dispense,
For blessings never known,
Innumerable grown,
Our hymn we to Thy altar bring,
O had we angel’s tongues, Thy praise to sing.

“ BLESS’D JESUS! ’tis Thy will that we
In duty shou’d like angels be;
They always Thee behold,
They ne’er in hymn grow cold;
They all Thy attributes admire,
Their love tow’rds an Infinity aspire.

“ They live in an immense delight,
At Thy command take speedy flight:
O may we grace derive
From Thee, my GOD, to strive
That we sincere, like angels, may
Contemplate, hymn, admire, love, joy, obey.” *

“ God had provided for him a covert from the

* Ken’s Poems, vol. i. p. 388.

tempest, the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." He put it into the heart of Viscount Weymouth to bear him a message of comfort, and the offer of a home in his noble mansion of Longleat, about six miles from Frome Selwood, in Somersetshire. This was his former College companion, the benevolent and generous Thomas Thynne, who had been since raised to the peerage by Charles II. Their affection for each other was founded on a kindred piety, the surest basis of all friendship, and thus it had gathered strength from trial. The early studies of Lord Weymouth were directed by Dr. Hammond,* and Dr. Fell: it might be sufficient praise of him to say, that the pupil in after life proved himself worthy of such preceptors. The learned Henry Hammond was not in Oxford at the time Lord Weymouth was an Under-graduate, because, after his ejection from Christchurch, in the Rebellion, he lived under the hospitable roof of Sir John Pakington, at Westwood Park, in Worcestershire. But Lady Pakington,—the supposed, and perhaps real, Author of "THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN," was Weymouth's aunt.

The similarity of refuge, given by a Thynne to Ken, and a Pakington to Hammond, is the more interesting from the circumstance, that Lady Pakington and Weymouth's mother were two sisters of the noble House of Coventry, so famous for loyalty, and devotion to the Church. This close connexion of the families at once explains how it was that young Thynne had the benefit of Hammond's counsels.

* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 45.

This circumstance, of Hammond finding a Pakington to cherish him through proscription, and sickness, and death, in the retirement of Westwood, has interwoven the memory of the great and good Divine with the annals of that hereditarily loyal and religious family. Not less have the genius and piety of Jeremy Taylor repaid, by an undying fame, the hospitality and tender protection of Lord Carbery amidst the recesses of "Golden Grove." * In like manner the asylum offered to the deprived Ken, has graced the name of Thynne, and given a charm to the domain of Longleat, more lasting than any which art or nature could bestow. Like Ken, he had felt for the misguided people in Monmouth's Rebellion, and viewed with abhorrence the lawless cruelty with which the soldiery and their commanding officers harassed the districts around him. † Like Ken, he had stood faithful to an erring sovereign, had endeavoured to maintain his rights, and joined with other Peers in the Protest against his dethronement. ‡ Longleat was not above

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. Introduction, p. xx. note.

† Roberts, in his *Life of Monmouth*, says, "Lord Weymouth, in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, states, that his neighbours of Frome and Warminster are in dreadful apprehensions. The truth is, adds his Lordship, the licence they [the soldiers] have hitherto lived with is shameful, and will in the end prove no service to his Majesty. The same writer [Lord W.] alludes to the atrocious conduct of Colonel Trelawney's regiment in Shaftesbury and Sarum. Captain Wolfely encouraged his soldiers to toss the Mayor of Scarborough [q^r Marlborough] in a blanket; and possibly on such an occasion it will be aggravation, writes the same nobleman, that he said he could make him know the military power was above the civil." Roberts's *Life of Monmouth*, vol. ii. pp. 252-3.

‡ See Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. i., about a fine, imposed on Lord Weymouth's ancestor for his loyalty, in its connexion with Frome

twenty miles from Wells : part of the domain is within the diocese ; and Lord Weymouth had the happiness to persuade his deprived Bishop to make that his final resting place. Doubtless he felt that the presence of the holy man would bring a blessing on his household ; and Ken, whose heart was wounded within him, could not refuse the solace of such an asylum. There, for twenty years, he experienced Weymouth's untiring kindness. Towards the close of life he gave expression to his affectionate gratitude in dedicating to him his volumes of Poetry ;

" When I, my Lord, crush'd by prevailing might,
No cottage bad where to direct my flight ;
 In this alone I Gregory out-do,
 That I much happier refuge have in you :
 Where to my closet I to Hymn retire,
 On this side Heav'n have nothing to desire.
 Kind Heav'n me with a Friend illustrious blest,
 Who gives me shelter, affluence, and rest.
 Whose shades benign to sacred songs invite,
 Who to those songs may claim paternal right.
 Rich as he is in all good works below,
 May he in heav'nly treasure overflow." *

To relieve the Bishop from any sense of dependence, it was arranged between them that Lord Weymouth should receive his seven hundred pounds, and give him an annuity of eighty pounds a year. This " ever to be acknowledged generosity of his noble friend, and eminent benefactor, procured him the enjoyment of a clear payment of twenty pounds a quarter," †

Church ; and, vol. ii. p. 234, for Lord Weymouth himself afterwards joining in the Protest against imposing the Oath of Abjuration.

* Ken's Poems, vol. i.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 23.

sufficient, with his moderate desires, to place him out of reach of the world's vexations.*

The name of Lord Weymouth is so closely connected with the later fortunes of Ken, that we cannot but be interested in his character, which, indeed, does honour to the English Peerage. He was one of that order whose high qualities, in their respective degrees, and varied characteristic shades and hues, have always been a support to the best institutions of the country. The aristocracy of England, powerful and rich, loyal and patriotic, have alternately sided with the Crown or the people, as the public interests have called forth their aid to the weaker cause. In times of danger,—of threatened tyranny on the one side, or of popular turbulence on the other,—they have steadily adjusted the terms of reconciliation for the common benefit. There are few things which more arrest the attention of foreign travellers, than the influence exercised by our noble families in the neighbourhood of their country-seats:—hospitable, courteous, and free of access, patrons of literature and the arts,—practical encouragers of agriculture, spirited lovers of manly field-sports, generous, charitable, and sympathizing with the wants of the poor, and promoters of education—and, above all, firm adherents of the Church of England. Such was Lord Weymouth.

Higher praise than that which flowed from Ken himself, cannot be given; “The good Lord really

* Bowles says (vol. ii. p. 215), “In mere commiseration he was permitted to retain his prebendal stall in the Cathedral.” Surely not: this, quite as much as the Bishopric, would have required him to take the Oath of Allegiance.

does conduct his life by the Divine maxims recorded by St. Paul, and he is truly rich in good works, and, indeed, so are his near relations; munificence seems to be the family virtue, and traduced [continued] to their posterity.”* Every casual notice in the biographies of his time confirms this grateful, and no less honest eulogy. When the eccentric, but zealous, Whiston bought a portion of the impropriated tithes of Kissingland, a parish in Suffolk, for the purpose of re-annexing them to the Vicarage, we find Lord Weymouth contributing ten pounds.† Among the special favours of Providence, received and chronicled by Bishop Wilson, the same liberal benefactor recurs to us: “May 27, 1707. Lord Weymouth sent twenty pounds for Bibles.”‡ To Dr. Thomas Smith, the learned Non-juring Divine, he transmits ten pounds, as a token of his just value for him, and makes Ken his Almoner for the occasion; upon which Dr. Smith, emboldened by this kindness to himself, and also by “hearing lately from a person of quality of the *prodigious bounty of my Lord and Lady Weymouth, annually bestowed on persons who stood in need of such supports*,” recommends a virtuous lady and her two daughters, their occasional pensioners, but now almost reduced to starvation, to an extension of their bounty.§

He was the friend and patron of Dr. Thomas Bray, the zealous and ill-requited Commissary of Maryland,—the pioneer of many of those societies which

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 98.

† Whiston's *Memoirs*, p. 345.

‡ Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata* (J. H. Parker's edit. 1853), p. 49.

§ Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, pp. 89, 103, 104.

Longleat House, deserving rather the name of a palace, stands amid natural slopes and hills crowned with hanging woods, and is environed, partly with water, and partly with ornamental gardens, rich in exotic plants. The foundation of the present structure was laid on the site of the old house in 1567, and John of Padua has the reputation of having been the architect. It was not completed during two generations: and it was reserved to the College friend of Ken to carry out the original design. From the industrious, and intelligent Britton we learn, that

“At this stage it only comprehended three sides of a quadrangle: but the whole was thus furnished and fitted up in the most expensive style of that age. At the same time the flower gardens, parterres, terraces, fountains, cascades, and ponds were laid out, and formed with all the fantastic formality of French taste, and in imitation of those at, and near, Paris: the design of which may properly be called the geometrical, as contradistinguished to the landscape gardener.”

Great changes and improvements have been made since that period: but such was the domain when it

but, not being so well received as the Earl of Pembroke, which he expected, immediately espoused King James's interest with great zeal; [*though he opposed James's arbitrary proceedings, he could not join in de-throning him:—this was “the head and front of his offending”*] which he continued to do to his death. He was very liberal to Non-jurors, though he always took the Oaths himself: which occasioned his house being constantly full of people of that sort, who cried him up for a very religious man; which pleased him extremely, having affected to be thought so all his life: which the companions of his youth would by no means allow.” On this Dr. Routh drily, and significantly remarks,—“*Lord Weymouth appears to have been an honest man than most of his contemporaries*; attached to the Church of England, he could not but highly disapprove of King James's measures.” Routh's 2nd edit. of Burnet's History of the Reign of King James II., p. 399.

received the deprived Ken into its shelter. The venerable Camden had described it as "the curious and splendid house (tho' more than once damnified by fire) of the knightly family of the Thynnes, descended from the Boteviles;" and Macaulay alludes to it as "then [in the time of James II.], and perhaps still, the most magnificent country-house in England, which is confirmed by Britton.* Endless walks and rides are cut through the woods: they offer at each turn some fresh bower of solitude, or opening of the landscape.† These "shades benign," as Ken calls them, might well give him rest: they abound in every requisite for the peaceful abode of a "Retired Christian."‡ There, too, he might indulge his "great relish for Divine Poesy:" and we know that "under this noble Lord's roof he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces:" for "he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, as thereby in some measure to palliate the

* See Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 4to, 1809, vol. ii. pp. 104, 108, where a print, representing Longleat in the time of Ken, may be seen. Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, 1722, vol. i. col. 110. Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 571.

† ——— "Magnificent abode,
Where virtuous KEN, with his grey hairs, and throud,
Came, for a shelter from the world's rude storm,
In his old age, leaving his palace-throne,
Having no spot where he might lay his head,
In all the earth,— * * * the seat
Of his first friend,—his friend from school-boy days."

DAYS DEPARTED, OR BANWELL HILL, by Rev. W. L. Bowles. 2nd edit. 1829, pp. 66-7. Lord Weymouth's Town-house, or "Lodgings," were in "Leicester Fields." See Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 229.

‡ A little book with this title is one of the many works, erroneously attributed to Ken.

acuteness of his pains, and may give full satisfaction to his readers by promoting their chief happiness, to the glory of God the Giver."*

On his way to the parish church of Horningham, how often from the top of the hill, through a break in the woods, must he have overlooked the prospect, called, from its almost unequalled richness, the "Gate of Heaven." It may have prompted that passage in his poems,

"Soon as thou hast a blissful glance,
It will thee wholly so entrance,
Thou, like the Bless'd, will nothing love
But God above."

Of the old church at Horningham, just without the park paling, only the tower now remains: all the rest has been lately re-edified by a hand, never weary of doing good. The Marchioness of Bath has caused it to be restored on true principles of ancient ecclesiastical architecture, with a triple chancel, of ample proportions, massive oaken roof, supported by carved angels, and adorned with side screens and stained glass, also a richly carved altar, font, stone pulpit; *and there is abundant room provided for the poor.*

The only companions of his removal from Wells to Longleat were his beloved books: "these he never sold:"—under every aspect of his fortunes, they were companionable friends: though mute, they discourse to us most movingly, for they address themselves to every faculty of our minds. The charm of music passes away with the air that breathes its melody: out of books we gather the abiding harmonies of

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 24.

thought and reason, philosophy and virtue. They are friends, not only enhancing other joys, but ever creating fresh ones; lightening and beguiling us of our sorrows; friends they are who never forsake us; if the world frown, they do not turn from us, but open out new sources of comfort: if the world smile, and we love its blandishments, they whisper to warn us of the danger. If we grow weary of their company, and lay them aside, they take no offence; they wait on our convenience, bear with our waywardness, are content to be neglected, and prompt to renew the acquaintance.

An incident is mentioned by Hawkins, in regard to the Bishop's library, which marks the character of the man. Though he could not bear to sell these treasures, he loved to give many away. There was something so exuberant in the goodness of his heart, he would not be satisfied, if others did not participate in his possessions, whatever they might be. Most men are looking out for gifts—he with a child-like instinct was for ever emptying his lap among all around him. Formerly, to encourage his clergy “in catechizing, he furnished them with a stock of necessary books for the use of children.”* So, for their own use, out of his library “he had given large catalogues (i.e. collections) of books to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his diocese.”† This was before his deprivation: and now that he was about

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 14.

† And afterwards he bequeathed, by will, to the Library of the Cathedral at Wells, all his “books of which Lord Weymouth has duplicates, and of which the Library at Wells has not.”

to leave them, he did the same.* A parting gift is not less precious because made in sorrow. These books were a farewell of friendship, and would always be a memorial of past pleasure and comfort, derived from the confidence and attachment of his clergy, and their zealous aid in his pastoral labours for the common good. They, on the other hand, received them as a token of his constant love, a pledge that they would live in his memory, as he assuredly would in theirs. It was in this spirit that he gave them his parting blessing.

The room which he inhabited at Longleat is at the top of the house, far removed from the noise and bustle of the noble hall, so well known as the scene of old English hospitality, "those festivities of a Palace" (as his friend, Dr. Smith, says) "open to all comers of fashion and quality."† It is an apartment of most ample dimensions, filled with books, of which some were his own, and others belonging to Lord Weymouth, the overflowings of the great library below. In this retirement he lived, and wrote hymns, and sang them to his viol, and prayed, and died. His principal companion was probably Mr. Harbin, the family Chaplain, of whom he often makes mention in his letters. It is allowable to those who love his memory to say, that this upper chamber, and the walks and gardens, woods and glades, which he frequented, give a hallowed character to Longleat; for there he passed portions of the last twenty years of his life.

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 23.

† Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 90.

He made occasional visits to Isaac Walton, Junior, the Rector of Poulshot, and other friends who loved and revered him. Now and then he was in London, sometimes at Winchester, Bath, or Bristol: in one letter he speaks of "staying a night or two" with Colonel Philips, on his way from Longleat to Bath;* in another he is on a visit to Dr. Thomas Cheyney, the Head Master at Winchester:† at one time with Archdeacon Sandys, at another with Mrs. Thynne, at Lewiston, near Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, or the Miss Keymises, at Portishead, near Bristol,‡ as we shall have occasion to notice more particularly hereafter. Several other places will occur, at all of which he was received with the greatest reverence. But Longleat was the principal witness of his future trials, his temptations, and his disquietudes. These last were to follow him, wherever he might go: for what refuge of peace, what stillness or solitude, what shades of retirement, can screen us from the companionship of our cares? We bear about with us our own burthen, which every man must sustain: it is, indeed, the very channel of consolation to the trustful, as bringing us nearer to the sympathy of Christ, who carries our griefs in His own bosom. Ken knew how to cast his at the foot of the Cross, which alone could ease them.

Among the varied company that used to assemble at Longleat, some of whom were old personal friends,

* Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 65.

† Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. pp. 229, 259; and Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 53.

‡ Round's Prose Works of Ken, pp. 71, 95, 99.

Ken cultivated a remarkable, yet hearty friendship, which it is delightful to contemplate in an age of political and religious rancour. In the neighbourhood of Frome lived Mr. Walter Singer, a Nonconformist gentleman of good family,

“ So well known and distinguished for his good sense, primitive integrity, simplicity of manners, uncommon prudence, activity and faithfulness in discharging the duties of his station, inflexible adherence to his principles, and at the same time truly Catholic spirit, as to be held in high esteem, even by persons of superior rank: my Lord Weymouth, who was reckoned a very good judge of men, not only writing to him, but honouring him with his visits; as did the devout Bishop Ken very frequently, sometimes once a week;—such a charm is there in unaffected goodness, and so naturally do kindred souls, warmed and actuated by the same heavenly passion, and pursuing the same glorious end, run and mingle together with the greatest pleasure, after they are once acquainted, notwithstanding any accidental diversity of sentiments in some smaller things. I mention this to the honour of that venerable Bishop, as well as of Mr. Singer.” *

This gentleman had an accomplished and highly-gifted daughter Elizabeth, afterwards Mrs. Rowe,† who was in every respect worthy of her parent, and who attracted the peculiar regard of the Bishop; for there existed in her young mind a spirit of piety, and similarity of tastes, so kindred to his own, that he could not but take a pleasure in her society, notwith-

* The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, prefixed to the 1st Volume of her Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse, 8vo, 1739, p. v.

† In 1710, Elizabeth Singer married Mr. Thomas Rowe, a gentleman of independent means in Somersetshire, eminent for his literary taste and acquirements, but he died in 1715 at the age of twenty-eight.

standing their difference in age, and in ecclesiastical opinions. Like Ken, "she was very much delighted with music, chiefly of the grave and solemn kind, as best suited to the grandeur of her sentiments, and the sublimity of her devotion."* Like him, she poured out her religious fervour in verse, and the writing of poetry was her favourite employment, from the age of twelve years unto her dying moments. "So prevalent was her genius that way, that her very *prose* hath all the charms of *verse* without the *fetters*, the same fire and elevation, the same bright images, bold figures, rich and flowing diction."†

Shortly after the Bishop took up his abode at Long-leat, she was first introduced to the notice of the noble family there, by

"A little copy of verses of her's, with which they were so highly delighted as to express a curiosity to see her; and the friendship that commenced from that time subsisted ever after; not more to her honour, who was the favourite of persons so much superior to her in the outward distinctions of life, than to the praise of their judgment and taste, who knew how to prize, and took a pleasure to cherish such blooming worth. She was not then twenty. Her paraphrase of the 38th chapter of Job was writ at the request of Bishop Ken, who was entertained in that family, and gained her a great deal of reputation."‡

* The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, prefixed to the 1st Volume of her Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse, 8vo, 1739, p. xv.

† Ibid. p. xv.

‡ Ibid. p. xvii. "She had no other tutor for the French and Italian languages, than the Honourable Mr. Thynne, son to the Lord Viscount Weymouth, who willingly took that task on himself, and had the pleasure to see his fair scholar improve so fast under his lessons, that in a few months she was able to read *Tasso's Jerusalem* with great ease." When

At a later period of her life, she emulated the unstinted charity with which the Bishop, in the days of his affluence, relieved every child of affliction who claimed his sympathy. Like himself, when he was at College, "she was accustomed, on going abroad, to furnish herself with pieces of money of different value, that she might relieve any objects of compassion, who should fall in her way, according to their different degrees of indigence."* As he had done in his palace at Wells, "she also, in imitation of our blessed Saviour's example of doing good on the Sabbath, sanctified the Lord's-day, by entertaining a set of poor people at her house, and by an abundant distribution of charity."† *She dedicated half of her yearly income to charitable uses.* Like Ken, she loved to distribute books of a religious tendency among the poor, and to educate their neglected children at her own expense. We must omit several other traits of resemblance to the Bishop, and not less to Lady Margaret Maynard, the object of his affection and gratitude, whose virtue he had perpetuated in the Funeral Sermon already noticed.‡ One interesting point, however, claims a concluding notice:—for, like him, she expressed a desire to avoid the vain

this amiable heir of Longleat died at a premature age, she bewailed his loss in some appropriate elegiac lines, expressive of her admiration of his virtues and taste.

* The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, prefixed to the 1st Volume of her Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse, 8vo, 1739, p. lxxix.

† Ibid. p. xc.

‡ "She employed her own hands in labours of charity to clothe the necessitous: and, like a ministering angel, visited them when they were afflicted with malignant, and contagious distempers." Ibid. p. lxxx.

parade of funeral pomp:—both directed their burial to take place at an hour which could not attract a numerous concourse of people,—he “just at sun-rising,”—she “by night;”—notwithstanding which their funerals were attended by many who mourned their loss.*

Longleat appears more attractive to our imagination, more “like Paradise restored,”† from having sheltered Ken in his old age, and contributed to the happiness of Elizabeth Rowe, than on account of its magnificence. Happy to enjoy, while living, the friendship and esteem of the deprived Prelate, her memory partakes in a portion of the praise and veneration which shine on his. It is of her, in conjunction with Dr. Watts, that Johnson, having spoken of the copiousness and luxuriance of her style, the brightness of her imagery, and the purity of her sentiments, concludes with this noble and glowing panegyric;

“The completion of the great design [viz., in the application of taste to the promotion of religion] was reserved for Mrs. Rowe. Dr. Watts was one of the first who taught the Dissenters to write and speak like other men, by showing

* The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, prefixed to the 1st Volume of her Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse, 8vo, 1739, p. lxxi. *I am anxious once more to acknowledge the indefatigable assistance of my friend, Mr. KENT, in these, and various other minute details, which he has continued to afford to me throughout the Volume, and for which I find it difficult to express my thanks.*

† In one of her letters she says, “I spent a few days, since you were here, at Longleat: but tho’ the gardens were in their perfect order and beauty, and looked like *Paradise restored*, I found greater charms in obscurity and solitude.” In another letter, apparently describing Longleat, she speaks of the place, as “enchantment,” and “fairy land.” Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii. p. 222.

them that elegance might consist with piety. They would have both done honour to a better society, for they had that charity, which might well make their failings be forgotten, and with which the whole Christian world wish for communion. They were pure from all the heresies of an age, to which every opinion is become a favourite, that the universal Church has hitherto detested! This praise the general interest of mankind requires to be given to writers, who please and do not corrupt, who instruct and do not weary. But to them all human eulogies are vain, whom I believe applauded by angels, and numbered with the just.”*


Such were some of the friends, various in character and station, yet congenial in spirit, with whom Bishop Ken found solace in his enforced, but dignified and enviable, retirement.

* Boswell's Johnson, by Croker. Edit. 1851, p. 105.



CHAPTER XXII.

Ken refuses to concur with Sancroft and other Non-jurors, in extreme measures—His moderate views and conduct—Disapproves of clandestine consecrations to perpetuate the Schism—Death of Sancroft—of Tillotson—of Queen Mary.

HE great Schism inflicted on the Church by the new government, in the uncanonical appointment of intrusive Bishops, was the cause of greater sorrow to Ken than his own personal loss of fortune. It could only spring from Erastianism, and lead to latitudinarian principles, a relaxed discipline, neglect of the services of religion, and a deadness of faith,—of all which we are to this day reaping the bitter fruit. Had these consequences been foreseen to their full extent, it is probable that Tillotson, Burnet, and the other influential advisers of the King would have cordially united to prevent any invasion of the spiritual offices. This, however, does not lessen their responsibility in prompting the temporal power to step beyond its limits, and to sever ties which were sacred.

Another grievous trial to one so loving and charitable arose from the serious differences of opinion, which soon sprung up, and were afterwards carried to great extremes, among the Non-jurors themselves. Ken at once foresaw the fatal consequences of this, and

did all he could to prevent it. For himself,—being virtually shut out from the public exercise of his office by an act of the state, not grounded upon, or involving any heresy in matters of Faith,—he desired, so far as he could, to be passive. He looked upon his successor as a schismatical Bishop, a “traditor of his flock;” but not as incapable of a valid ministry. Having, therefore, at his deprivation, publicly asserted his own canonical right, he left to Kidder the responsibility of his intrusion, being careful only not to aggravate its effects by any act of his own.

He abstained from any declaration which, by fixing the charge of Schism on Kidder, might unsettle the Clergy, hereafter to be under his rule,—as to their obedience, or call in question his spiritual authority in ordination, and other episcopal offices. It is essential to mark this, when examining the precise course Ken took at the time of his deprivation, and afterwards,—because it places in a conspicuous point of view his strict adherence to the ancient rules by which the Church had been governed in times of far wider divisions: and this he exemplified from the beginning to the end of the controversy,—so that he had no occasion to retrace any one step he took, or modify any one principle he laid down for his own guidance, or that of others. We shall hereafter see, that, having survived all the other Non-juring Bishops, he was richly rewarded for his moderation, in being able himself, at the right time, and by a voluntary and effectual resignation of his episcopal rights, to put an end to all reasonable grounds for asserting, that any part of the Church of England retained a taint of Schism.

In fact, it was reserved to him, some years afterwards, to repair the breach which he had no hand in making.

He did not lack the courage of St. Basil, if it could have availed to strengthen the principle of unity, or had there been any means of maintaining his jurisdiction: but the clergy of his Diocese having taken the Oaths, he did not pertinaciously challenge their obedience.* His aim had always been *substantial good*, rather than the maintenance of abstract theories. He could *practice* the mortification of his own will; not only in outward acts of self-denial, that are soon formed into habits, and may even minister to a subtle complacency, but in a lowliness of spirit, distrustful of its own strong impressions, which few men love to forego. He thought it more for the interests of religion to suffer in silence what he could not prevent, than to widen the breach, and increase the scandal, by an active opposition. He bore no resentments against those who took the Oaths: some of his most intimate friends were of the number, and he never withdrew from their society.

He did not feel himself justified in at once ceding his office, which would have been an acknowledgment

* See "THE CHARACTER OF A PRIMITIVE BISHOP. In a Letter to a Non-Juror," 8vo, 1709, pp. 96 and 98. So far as I can make out, it was written by Mr. John Pitts, Rector of St. Saviour's, in Norwich, himself a Non-juror, which is confirmed at pp. 142 and 143 of the work. It is now a scarce book: but most valuable, as regards Bishop Ken, who is an object of the author's veneration and applause, and the consistency of whose conduct with the "Character of a Primitive Bishop" is frequently referred to, as justifying the author's arguments for a healing of the Schism.

of the right of the lay power to invade the spiritual: his duty was to be a standing witness to the inviolable sanctity of the Episcopate. He had many illustrious precedents in the early Church to teach him not to yield up the trust committed to him, which it was not his to surrender into unauthorized hands. But he had also eminent examples of primitive Bishops to sanction his avoidance of contests by submitting, for the sake of charity, to a forced ejection. To use his own words, he considered "the peace of the Church to be of that importance, that it ought to supersede all ecclesiastical Canons, they being only of human, not divine, authority." *

Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White of Peterborough, took an opposite course, no doubt from equally conscientious motives: but the result, as Ken prophesied, proved adverse to the interests of religion. They held that, not only the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, intruding into the Sees of those deprived, but the whole national Church, were schismatical. This was a most exaggerated view; for in the Province of York none of the Bishops were deprived, — therefore there were no intruders. How, then, could the canonical rights of those Bishops be questioned, when the Metropolitan and all his Suffragans (of whose due consecration no doubt could exist) acted unanimously? Yet they were supposed guilty of Schism *by contagion*, because they communicated with the successors of the deprived in the other Province: they no longer appertained to the Church

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 50.

Catholic, of which the Non-jurors were the only true members!

If ever there was an occasion which showed the hopelessness of controversy, it was this. The mere list of eminent men, disputing the imputation of Schism, and the duties of churchmen, consequent on the lay deprivations, would suffice to show what a mass of learning was brought to bear on these questions. We have a catalogue, in Bishop Lloyd's handwriting, of above 120 tracts, pamphlets, and books which issued from the press on both sides to settle this, and the many other controverted points.* The Scriptures, old and new, the histories of the primitive ages, of the Roman and Greek Churches, of France, Spain, and England, afforded innumerable facts, illustrating the main arguments: each in its turn was claimed by the combatants as triumphant authority on their own behalf. Such is theological controversy. Ken thought, that obedience, and lowliness of mind, plain good sense, charitable judgment, and a patient abiding in faith and prayer, were safer guides to truth and Christian brotherhood, than all the learning of the schools. So fine, indeed, were the niceties of distinctions even between the Non-jurors themselves, that, agreeing as they did on the main point, their objection to the Oaths rested on principles differing one from the other. Even Mr. John Kettlewell, of whose sweet temper and goodness, learning and discretion, it is difficult to speak in measured terms, could not exactly concur with Dodwell, or Hickes, or Wagstaffe, or

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

Grafcome. Sancroft, to whom the MS. of an intended work of Kettlewell's had been submitted, complained of this to Lloyd of Norwich, and recommended, that their friends should not put forth their individual hypotheses, *but reserve them as private opinions* :

" Jan. 26. 1691/2.

" R. Rev^d and dear Friend,

" I send herewith my second venture, as I promised you last week. I have long esteem'd Mr. K[ettlewell], a very good, and pious practical Divine : but this last Treatise, and w^t he wrote formerly against Julian Johnson about Passive-Obedience, shew him to be also a very learned man, very well read both in y^e Roman, and Ecclesiastical History. 'Tis a great inconvenience, y^t 'tis not better copied, but freqtly interlin'd, and in those places very ill written, w^h made it hard for my old eyes to read it, and not so easy to judge of it. But 'tis a greater inconvenience, y^t we having so few Champions on our side of this controversy, they should differ among themselves, and not proceed upō y^e same Hypotheses. It were to be wish'd, that either by Letters, or Conference, they might be accorded ; at least in all points of moment ; and y^t what is not essential to the main cause, if it cannot be accorded, be not publish'd, but left to y^e author as a private opinion. I desire you kindly to salute the author in my name, when you see him, and to assure him of my most cordial love and esteem ; and to accept yourself of my hearty thanks for y^e opportunity you give me of perusing these excell^t Discourses ; for w^h God Alm. reward you, and crown you and your's, and all our dear Brethren w^h all His Blessgs. Amen.

" W. C."*

Some short time before this Ken had thought it

neceſſary to expreſs his diſapprobation of the meaſures his Brethren were about to take, and they found equal fault with him for having authorized his Chancellor to inſtitute to benefices. The following letter to Sancroft, from Lloyd of Norwich, intimates the beginning of a difference;

“9th May, 91.

“May it pleaſe your Grace,

“This morning I had the enclorſed, and I think it ſom ſatiſfaction that I have beene able (by the clew your Grace afforded me) to *ſilence the phancifull objections of my brother*, and his halfe witted Chancellor, about the Commiſſion, mentioned in a former letter which your Grace ſaw. Your Grace will finde an accompt of *the ſingular method which my good Br. lately purſued at Wells*. I wiſh it may ſpeede well in the conſequence of it; for my one part, I wiſh and pray, that I may be enabled to cleave ſtedfaſtly to my duty, and to purſue it *uſque ad aras*, yet ſoe, as to decline ſingularity, and needleſſe afflictions that may ariſe from being a vile ſlave *auræ popularis*.

* * * * *

“Your Grace’s moſt obedient Servant,

“W. N.”*

To this Sancroft anſwers,

“I am glad if o^r good Brother is ſatiſfied concerning his former objectiō agt my Comiſſion: *But I find it not in his letter*. For his new and ſingular method, ’tis brave enough: but whether y^e Caſe makes it neceſſary, or y^e event will ſhow it to be prudent, I muſt think further, before I pronounce. For o^r warm Brethren nigher hand, I think you have ſaid enough in reaſon to cool their heat. They bind

heavy burthens on others, wth they touch'd not wth one of their fingers. But God keep us, if we must be wounded in y^r Houfe of our Friends too."*

These letters have reference to the very objectionable Commiffion† which Sancroft gave to Lloyd,

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Dr. D'Oyly, in his *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 295, gives this curious document in Latin: but, having found the English copy, from which the Latin was probably composed, among Lloyd's papers, and endorsed by him, I think it too interesting to omit:

"William, by Divine Providence mean Minister of the Metropolitall Church of Canterbury, To the Right Reverend Father in Christ, and dear Brother in the Lord, William, by the same Providence Bp. of Norwth Health and Brotherly Charity in the Lord. Whereas, I am lately by lay force driven from Lambeth House, and not finding in the neighbouring City where I might conveniently and safely dwell, have removed as far off; Seeking where I might rest my wearyed Old Age. But many things then remaining, and more dayly arising of great moment concerning the great God and his Church, that cannot be so commodiously and expeditely transacted as in that great Theatre of business (London). To you, therefore, my Dearly Beloved Brother, who for that fortitude of mind, wherein you Excell, and enflamed with pious zeal to God's House, doth still remain in the suburbs of the City of London (the rest straggling on every side), so that I have no body there so own-minded and knowing in my affairs and the Church. To you, trusting in your prudence, and wonted diligence in managing affairs, I committ my Pontificall power, whatever it is, in the Lord. And I choose, make, and constitute you my Vicar in the premises, and the doer, actor, and messenger Generall of all my affairs and businesses by These Presents. To speak summarily and plain, whomsoever, Brother (as occasions shall offer or require), you shall choose, approve, confirm and join to your selfe, I also (as much as is in me and by right I may) assume, choose, and approve, confirm, and constitute. In one word, whatsoever you shall do in the Premises I my selfe, tho' absent in body but always in mind and affection present, do it, and w^t ever is done in the premises, let it be what it will, boldly impute it to me. Behold! I, William, have writt it with my own hand, I'll stand to it and confirm it. May the splendor of our Lord God be upon you, Brother, and may He direct and confirm the works of your hands: and deliver you and the rest of our Brothers from the Lyon's mouth, and

authorizing him to act as his Vicar-General in all ecclesiastical matters. This occasioned many years of violent contest and schisms among pious and ardent-minded men, even the perusal of which is wearying to the spirit. Ken at once foresaw the inevitable effects of it, and could not withhold the strong expression of his disapproval, to which he afterwards refers in several of his letters. It does not appear that Sancroft had authority for any such measure from James, whom he considered the supreme governor of the Church of England *de jure*: certainly he had no valid right to delegate such a power to Lloyd.

If the State deprivations inflicted a blow on the unity, and therefore on the efficacy, of the Church, it was aggravated by this act of the Archbishop. It would seem, that Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White, assuming that the whole Church of England was in a state of Schism, determined, so far as in them lay, to make it perpetual. They resolved to consecrate Suffragan Bishops, who might continue, what they called, a "canonical succession." This was to be done secretly, to avoid the penal consequences to themselves; but it required, as they thought, the sanction of James. They sent over Dr. George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, to St. Germain's, with a list of the Non-juring clergy, from which he was to select two,

from the Horns of the Unicorns, and heap upon you all Spiritual Benedictions in the Highest.

"Dated within the Limits of your Diocese, 9 Feb. 1691.*"

"Done in my presence,

"WM. SANCROFT, quod Not. Public."

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

who might receive consecration. James consulted the French Bishops, and the Pope,* who justified the measure: he referred the choice to Sancroft and Lloyd; the former named Dr. Hickes, who was accordingly made Suffragan of Thetford, and the latter Thomas Wagstaffe, who was appointed Suffragan of Ipswich. Both places were in the Diocese of Norwich. But Sancroft died before the measure could be completed, therefore they were consecrated to their offices by Lloyd, Turner, and White, on the 23rd February, 1694.†

Affuredly this had in it more zeal than wisdom. The Consecrations, being clandestine, and most carefully concealed for many years, were no public witness to the truth.‡ The appointment of Suffragans being always made in cases of necessity, in order to maintain the services and discipline of the Church, that object could not be promoted by the secret Consecrations, for it was expressly provided that the Suffragans should forbear to act, until the death of the deprived Bishop of Norwich,§ who lived fourteen years afterwards.

They never notified their titles, put in their pleas, nor claimed, or exercised any rights within their assigned spheres of jurisdiction.|| If the lay authority

* Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors, p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 103.

§ Life of Kettlewell, 8vo, p. 340.

|| The author of "The Character of a Primitive Bishop" pertinently asks, "Why do they not claim, and put in their Pleas? Why do they not appear, that they may be known and acknowledged? Why do they not act, and discharge their functions? Why do they not challenge the obedience of their subjects? notify their Titles, that their

would not permit the Bishop of Norwich himself to exercise his office, how would it tolerate the intrusion of Suffragans, in all respects less lawfully appointed? The whole scheme was the suggestion of an honest, but ill-regulated zeal. Serviceable ends are often a delusion: men may run counter to the very religion they desire to preserve; and never more so than when they go out of His own appointed way to serve, and glorify God. We shall hereafter see, how Hickes and others, although consecrated to perpetuate ministrations in accordance with the Anglican Church, came at last to insist on a departure from her ritual, and unauthorized changes in her Communion Service: they started in a wrong direction to their object of unity, and could not but end wider of the mark. No present practical good was effected at the time; and afterwards, having wandered farther and farther out of the old ways, they entangled themselves in a maze of difficulties and errors, from which only their death, and that of their successors, relieved the Church. Their Episcopate, having no real vitality, was sustained for a while by an exertion, and at length died out from mere feebleness.

Ken steadfastly refused to sanction the new ap-

Clergy and people may own them, and resort to them? If not, what reason have any to take any heed to any such suggestions or insinuations,—and to desert their certain and known duty for Uncertainties, and *Chimeras*,—since *non apparere*, is *non esse*; not to appear, is not to exist. If they dare not challenge their flocks, and enter upon their charges, and exert their authority, they are so far from being *Captains and Soldiers of the Sacred Militia*, that they are *Renegades, Cowards, and ought to be cashier'd*, and broken by the laws of arms, by the Canons of the Church, and to be renounced by all good Christians, &c." P. 37.

pointments, which he called "a perpetuating of the Schism." His principle, as expressed to Mr. Robert Nelson, was that "the strength of innocence is to sit still, and the wisest and most dutiful way to follow, rather than anticipate, Providence."* He thought it best for the interests of all to abstain from any act that might widen, or continue, the breach. This, for his part, he was resolved to do. Though he should stand alone, he would adhere to the Church of England, *as he found her*; a faithful son of his spiritual mother, neither coming short, nor going beyond her ministrations. He loved her as she was: some might attempt to improve, others to assail her doctrines and services: to him they were all as holy things. Though she were in bonds, he might love and revere her, and abide her deliverance. In as much as he was not allowed to minister in her Sanctuary, he left her to God's Providence, knowing that in His hands were the times and seasons. We shall see how this proved, in the end, the highest wisdom.

We are not left only to surmise what were his exact views: they are recorded in the few letters of his, which have been preserved to us. Writing to Dr. Hickes, one of the most conspicuous, learned, and intrepid leaders of the Non-jurors, he says,

"I wrote to you long ago, to recommend to your serious consideration the Schism, which has so long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which I have many years had ill abodings. I need not tell you what pernicious

* Appendix to Kettlewell's Works, p. xxv.

consequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already; what advantage it yields to our enemies." *

Again, to the Bishop of Norwich,

"I am willing to allow all degrees of excuseability to those who are of a different persuasion from myself, in the business of clandestine Consecrations, against which you know I always declared my judgment: *I foresaw it would perpetuate the Schism, which I daily deplore: I thought it insidiously procured by Milford* † [Lord Melfort] *for that purpose, who could intend no good to our Church: but I was forced at last to tolerate what I could not approve of.*" ‡

This is confirmed by the author § of Kettlewell's Life:

"Not long after the Revolution, when some of the Non-jurors were very big with great expectations, Bishop Ken was much displeased that any should flatter themselves with vain hopes, and declared to me with great earnestness and concern, as under a sort of divine impulse, that it was then but the beginning of evils, with a pretty deal to that purpose. But notwithstanding that he could not himself comply with what, by the present settlement, was required of him, he had yet a very charitable opinion of many that did; and is known to have been against perpetuating a separation." ¶

The mention by Ken of the insidious purposes of the Earl of Melfort naturally introduces, at this precise time, the enquiry, whether our Bishop was ever

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 49.

† The principal Popish counsellor of James at St. Germain.

‡ Round, p. 51.

§ Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, 8vo, 1752, p. 269, says, "Dr. Francis Lee was the Compiler of Mr. Kettlewell's Life, from the Collections of Dr. Hickes and Mr. Nelson."

¶ *Life of Kettlewell*, 8vo, p. 427.

implicated in any of the Jacobite plots in 1693 and 1694, carried on at the Court of St. Germain's through the Earl of Melfort, and Charles second Earl of Middleton. In preparing the first edition of this *Life*, I examined into that point with rigid candour, and was so satisfied of his entire innocence, that I did not even raise the question. And now, by the indefatigable aid of a literary friend, who has brought all the minute circumstances to a point, I am able to declare my honest conviction that he entirely stood aloof from every factious proceeding of the time. I believe, if he could by one word have recalled James to the throne, he would have shrunk from the thought of abetting the fatal consequences which must have ensued to the Church of England.*

* In order to enable the reader, who may feel an interest in the enquiry, to sift the question, the following references are given, and the more they are examined, the more clearly they will show the very slender grounds on which any such surmise could rest. Macpherson's *State Papers*, 4to, 1775, vol. i. pp. 409, 433, 452, 455, 459, 467, 474—(here the truthful and manly Trelawney, who had readily taken the Oath to William, and accepted the Bishopric of Exeter from him, and was his firm adherent, and detested Popery, is named as one of the Clergy entirely in the interest of James;—yet he was still less likely to be so than Ken)—484, 514. This last reference is the most important, being a copy of a letter from Middleton to No. 7 (an "*allegorical*" number, supposed by Macpherson to mean Bishop Ken), in which he says, "I am glad of this opportunity of inclosing Mr. Artley's [King James's] letter to you." See also Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 514, where the King mentions Bath and Wells among other Bishops, Noblemen, and "the rest of the Church of England partie," as advising him not to enter into any further engagements with the Republicans.

It is curious that, after the Bishop's death (and, of course, after the death of James, who died 1701), the name of "Mr. Ken" should have been used in 1712 and 1713 to designate the son of James II. (the Pretender, called *King* by his adherents), in the secret Stuart correspondence. See Macpherson's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 399, 402, 412, 418,

The most distressing of all his difficulties was the question, whether he could attend the public Communion of the Church. To one of so tender a conscience, whose whole life was dedicated to prayer, who in every stage of his ministerial office had evinced a lively zeal in maintaining the daily service, this was, indeed, a question of the deepest solicitude. Let any one read his "Practice of Divine Love," and then judge of the severe penance he was to inflict on himself in a voluntary interdict from the feast of Christ's precious Body and Blood, in public Communion with the Church, of which he was a consecrated Bishop. Hungry and thirsty, and longing after the riches of God's love, imparted in the Holy Supper, he was to decide whether he *ought* to be absent from the temples, where it was solemnly celebrated. By the blessed Eucharist his soul had been fed by His Lord, who bought him at the dear rate of His own Blood. It is true the Apostles broke bread in an upper chamber, and from house to house; and in after times of persecution assembled at the Holy Feast in any corner where they might find safety: yet it was expressly against the ecclesiastical canons for bishops or priests to do so anywhere but in the public churches, if such were open to them. Did the Schism, created by the lay deprivals, prescribe his abandonment of a public Communion, not tainted by any heretical doctrines? This was to be decided, not for himself only, but for

422. By reference to the same vol., pp. 285, 396, it would seem that a "Mr. Kenn," residing in England, was in communication with the Court of St. Germain's in 1712 and 1713.

many others who looked to him as their spiritual guide. The question involved not only his own Christian privileges, in personally partaking of the means of grace, but the steadfast witness he was to bear to the sanctity of the Episcopal office, violated in his person. He was not to indulge his own desires, if they should compromise the trust committed to his stewardship.

With what prayers and tears must he have pleaded for right guidance in a question of such weighty moment! Weak he might be, and erring in judgment; but not to gain the whole world would he willingly offend His Master. What if he should be wrong? what if his example became an occasion of stumbling to others of weaker judgment and less fervid piety, who might be willing to use any plea for absenting themselves? If he held aloof from the public prayers, might he not promote a general defection? In his endeavour to maintain the sanctity of the Episcopate, might he not lead astray the poorer members of the flock, by seeming to justify their withdrawal from the hand of their Pastors, and so check the progress of souls he had hitherto laboured to bring to Heaven? Ought he not to forego all scruples, and yield the strictness of ancient precedent, rather than they should desert the Communion of the Church? These were fearful doubts to solve.

The public services of the Church now included forms of prayer for William and Mary, which were called by the Non-jurors the "immoral prayers." If it were sinful to violate their Oath of Allegiance to James, they could still less join in supplicating God to

prosper his enemies : this would have been a mockery of the most sacred services : an affront to Him Whose ear is attent in His holy place. But might he not go to church, and pass over the prayers for the King and Queen ? Many of the Non-jurors did so ; and when they came to those parts, they rose from their knees, or shut their books, or by some other marks, as omitting the “ Amen,” or other usual response, tacitly expressed their dissent : or in their own minds substituted the names of James, and his son. As on other points, so on this, there was a diversity of opinion among the Non-jurors. Hickes, and his zealous party, strongly denounced every one, whether of the clergy or laity, who should commit, what they called, so “ immoral an outrage.” * Even if there had been no state prayers included in the services, they professed, that to join in communion with schismatics was an open betrayal of their principles.

The learned, devout, and moderate Kettlewell made a distinction between the Clergy, and Laity. He held that the Non-juring Clergy, whose place it was to afford ministerial offices to others, need not themselves have recourse to the public prayers, because if

* Mr. Robert Nelson, “ who was fixed in his resolution not to acknowledge the government of the King and Queen, thought proper now to consult the Archbishop [Tillotson] with regard to the practice of those Non-jurors, who frequented the churches, and yet profess’d, that they did not join in the prayers for their Majesties. His Grace’s answer was in these words : ‘ As to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided in opinion about it. I think it plain that no man can join in prayers, in which there is any petition, which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick any where, much less in religion.’ ” Birch’s Life of Tillotson, 8vo, p. 282.

only two or three joined with them in private, they might minister in a holy assembly, and have Christ "in the midst of them." * But the mass of the people were unable, from the small number of the rightful clergy, to have at their hands the offices of the Church. In that case "*the necessity of public worship would justify their overlooking the faultiness and obliquity of the Schism; otherwise men's pious affections would unavoidably decay and go back, for want of communion.*" † "Such is the natural duty, and such the necessity, and importance of public worship, that it is one of the greatest visible supports of religion, which without it would sink and be in danger to fail in the earth." ‡ Therefore, in the absence of rightful ministers they might join in the services of the parish churches. But then they must by some sufficient external sign manifest their dislike of the "immoral prayers," when they occurred;—that is, make a distinction between them, and the truly good and holy services. §

Such were Kettlewell's opinions, as expressed in his well-known work of "*Christian Communion.*" They were certainly the views entertained by Ken with respect to the laity. These, he thought, might and ought to go to Church. We have the authority of the Non-juror, Mr. Pitts, in confirmation of this; speaking of Ken's not having "challenged" the obedience of his diocese, he says,

"I speak the result of my most sedate and mature thoughts,

* Kettlewell's Works, fol., vol. ii. p. 635.

† Ibid. p. 637.

‡ Ibid. p. 638.

§ Ibid. p. 653.

that I do not, cannot believe that holy Father ever entertained any sentiments of Schism, as they [Hickes and others, "cunning worldly-minded men"], upon all occasions, now assert; especially if my informations be right as to some, who have seriously, and most zealously consulted him in the matter, both as to their *present Communion*, whilst he is alive, and their future, after his demise. Nor do I find that he *ever check'd divers eminent Non-jurors, and very learned men of his acquaintance, for their frequenting the publick Communion ever since the Revolution; but, upon all occasions, has look'd upon them as Brethren, with equal respect and confidence as the rest, and equally admits them to his Prayers.*"*

And in his own letters we find this fully substantiated. Writing about the Schism to Hickes, he says,

"I need not tell you what pernicious consequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already; what advantage it yields to our enemies, what irreligion the abandoning of the public assemblies may cause in some, and what vexation it creates to tender consciences in the country, where they live banished from the House of God."†

And—

"I find that I am misinterpreted by some of the brethren, and am charged with giving advices concerning Communion contrary to our Mother [the Church], whereas the only advice I have given was to recommend the two last chapters of good Mr. Kettlewell's book to people's reading. I was always of his opinion, and wished that our brethren had not stated the question on higher terms; and *I approved of the book in manuscript.*"‡

* The Character of a Primitive Bishop, in a Letter to a Non-juror. 8vo, 1709, pp. 97, 98.

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 49.

‡ Ibid. p. 58.

And once more :

"I never argued the case with lay people, but recommended to them the two last chapters of Mr. Kettlewell's book, where it is truly and fully stated to my apprehension, and I am extremely satisfied that your sentiments concur with mine. Our brother of Ely, now with God, had the like thoughts, and gave the like advice to a worthy person, now near me in the country, who related it to me ; and I always thought, and said, that stricter measures would be of fatal consequence to our Church, for which many of my brethren would never relish me."*

It is not perfectly clear whether he himself attended the public services or not. The evidence is somewhat contradictory.† The probability seems to be, that at first he absented himself; but that afterwards, when he resigned his Bishopric to his friend, Dr. George Hooper, he went to Church. The Non-juror, Mr. Pitts, in his "CHARACTER OF A PRIMITIVE BISHOP,"‡ says,

"This, we know, was lately the case of a right Reverend, and truly Prelate, who never forsook the public assemblies, nor never would be induced to look upon the national Church to be schismatical, but even officiated himself publicly, and communicated constantly ; all which he did consistently with himself and his duty, as having made an express confession to his successor, by importuning him to accept that

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 60.

† The main difficulty arises from an expression in one of his own letters (which will come in hereafter) so late as Feb. 21, 1709/10, written to Mr. Robert Nelson, wherein he says, "I presume Mr. Dodwell, and others with him, go to Church ; *though I myself do not*, being a public person ; but to communicate with my successor in that part of the Office which is unexceptionable, I should make no difficulty."

‡ 8vo, 1709, pp. 145, 146.

Bisshopric. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* Hence all those declamations against, hard reflexions upon, and contempt of this truly peaceable and religious Prelate."

Long before the date of this publication, Ken, in one of his letters to Hickes, clearly intimates that he thought his presence at some of the prayers, rightly understood, was no betraying of the cause.* In another letter, addressed to Lloyd, he says, "I never use any *characteristic* in the prayers myself, nor am present when any is read."† By this expression he meant, that he never attended any solemn days of Thanksgiving or public Fasts, appointed by the Government. Kettlewell and the majority of Non-jurors made a clear distinction between these and the ordinary services. They held, that to be present on such special occasions, which were significant of a direct purpose,‡ was to profess allegiance to William, and therefore an act of dissimulation: but not so their attendance on the ordinary services, "when we come together to do God honour and service, and to seek supplies for all our own and others' necessities."§

At first, perhaps, when he was bound to make a stand for his principles, and claim of right, he kept entirely away from the public services: but afterwards yearning for them, and seeing the evil consequences of non-communion, he could not always refrain. In this he offended the sturdy Non-jurors: but Nelson, Dodwell, and others heartily sympathized with him, and followed his example. We may not presume to decide what ought to have been his precise course

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 50.

† *Ibid.* p. 56.

‡ *Kettlewell's Works*, vol. ii. p. 652.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 55.

under the particular circumstances, so imperfectly known to us. If any be disposed to censure, let him first exemplify the same peaceful and heavenly thoughts, in a life of equal sanctity and chastened will, and be content to suffer as patiently as Ken did :— then perhaps he may rightly appreciate the motives of this holy confessor of our Church.

Archbishop Sancroft died in 1693 : his successor, Tillotson, within the year after ; and so both rested from their troubles and their differences. The measures of Government, adopted in the short Episcopate of Tillotson, and with his sanction, had a deadening influence on the Anglican Church. It is a fearful charge to be Primate of England, whose actions touch on things sacred, and in their consequence, for evil or for good, reach beyond his own short earthly span. One after another follows in the line of succession. Shall each, in confidence of his own views, presume to modify the teaching of the Church ? If so, each Primate, differing perhaps from those before him, and those to come (since each man's mind is of its own character), will, to the extent of his influence, reduce her to a wavering and inconstant thing, swayed by every breath of human judgment. But the Church, like the Truth on which she is founded, is unchangeable. When an Archbishop sets his hand to a work of alteration, he undertakes what is beyond his power to limit, or control. He may sanction but one degree of deviation from the rule handed down to him :—how soon, or through whom, the next downward step may be taken, is not within his range to foresee. But the responsibility must be on him who leads the way.

Queen Mary shed tears for the loss of Tillotson. His funeral, however, was the close forerunner of her own: within a few weeks she was seized with small pox, and died on the 28th of Dec. 1694, at the early age of thirty-two, in the fifth year of her reign. If the long possession of a throne could ever suffice to sweeten the remembrance of having supplanted an indulgent father, she did not reap even this fruit of the usurpation. It does not appear that she ever asked his forgiveness, or expressed contrition on her death-bed.

James records his bitter sentiments towards her. He hoped her death might give an opening for the ultimate restoration of his son. Whereas (to use his own words)—

“All the King got by it was an additional affliction to those he already underwent, by seeing a child, whom he had always cherished beyond expression, and loved so tenderly, persevere to her death in such a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty, and to hear her extoll’d, and set out for it in the brightest colours, as the highest virtue, by the mercenary flatterers of those times. Even that dull man, D^r. Tenison, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who with his languid oration at her funeral rather diverted than edify’d the company, rank’d it amongst her highest praises, that by long and laborious contradictions she got the better of her duty to her parents, in consideration of her religion and her country. Thus she was canonised for a sort of parricide, by usurping her father’s throne, and sending him, together with his Queen and the Prince her brother, to be vagabonds in the world, had not the generosity of a neighbouring monarch receiv’d, entertain’d, and succor’d them, when their own subjects, and even children, had lost all bowels of compassion and duty.” “If anything had been able to trouble the tranquillity which the King’s resignation afforded him, this would have done it,

especially when he heard his poor daughter had been so deluded as to declare at her death, that 'her conscience no way troubled her,—that if she had done anything which the world might blame her for, it was with the advice of the most learned men of her Church, who were to answer for it, not she:' this made the King cry out; 'O miserable way of arguing, so fatal both to the deceiver, and those that suffer themselves to be deceived!' She discover'd, it seems by this, her scruple and apprehension, yet blindly followed those guides, whose tragical end, as well as those who are guided by them, the Scripture itself warns us of."*

A sad epitaph this, to be written on a daughter's tomb by a father's pen, perhaps more severe than just! Among many recorded testimonies to her merit, is that of a most truthful servant of her's, who had an intimate knowledge of her character. This was Dr. Hooper, her Chaplain at the Hague, and ever afterwards much in her confidence. "He would often say that, in the time he attended her, he never saw her do, nor heard her say, a thing that he would have wished she had not."†

On the death of Mary, laudatory sermons were preached in many of the London and country churches. The sermon by Archbishop Tenison, at Whitehall, was the "*languid oration of that dull man*," which so much displeased King James; it also drew down upon him many severe comments from others, as exhibiting a great want of proper reserve, in details of the death-bed scene, which should have been kept sacred. One pamphlet in particular came forth, which excited

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 525.

† MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

much attention, and as it has been attributed to our Bishop, may not be passed over. It is often the penalty of distinction and fame to bear the burthen of other people's sayings and doings. No one was more heavily laden after this sort than Ken; the works injuriously ascribed to him being equal in number to his real productions. His biographer, Hawkins, complains of this to Lord Weymouth, and gives a clue by which his real works might be discovered:

"His frequent joining the syllable Co-* to words, beside the great propriety thereby preserv'd, may be taken (tho' I dare not averr it to be so intended) for a design'd Characteristic of his genuine performances, from such as are spurious: he having met with ill treatment of that nature in his lifetime. And for the further prevention of which (as far as in me lies), I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that nothing more of his performances are ever to be published." †

Mr. Round, in the Preface to his very valuable book, "THE PROSE WORKS OF BISHOP KEN," has so satisfactorily disproved Ken's authorship of these "spurious performances," that little more need be said. One of them was the *anonymous* pamphlet in question against Tenison. ‡ It abounds in severe reflexions

* "As in Co-eval, Co-spire, Co-glorious, Co-Une, Co-Trine, Co-harmonious, &c."

† "*Epistle Dedicatory*, to the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Viscount Weymouth, Baron of Warminster," prefixed to "The Works of the Right Reverend, Learned, and Pious, Thomas Ken, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. Published from Original Manuscripts; by William Hawkins, Esq." 4 volumes, 8vo, 1721.

‡ A Letter to Dr. Tenison on his Sermon preached at the Funeral of her late Majesty. 4to, 1694.

on the Archbishop for his not having awakened the conscience of the dying Queen to a sense of her guilty conduct towards her father, and for not having called on her to show some tenderness towards him in her last moments. Her many admirable qualities and Christian graces are freely recognized, and great allowance made for the conflict of duties by which she was beset; but Tenison throughout is handled with severe hostility. In style and sentiment the whole letter betrays that it was not the production of Ken.*

It was not likely that he should now, for the first time, and on such an occasion, enter the lists of a political controversy.† If anything could draw him

* It was reprinted in 1752, in the "True Briton" (vol. iii. p. 589), a periodical of a political character, and a bitter assailant, with more malevolence than ability, of the House of Hanover, and the memory of William III. The correspondent who sent it, signed himself "*Pseudodelphomastix*," and vouched for its being "indisputably drawn up by the same incomparable hand," that so effectually chastised Bishop Burnet at an earlier period. This is an additional reason against the authorship of Ken, who never published anything against Burnet. My own impression is, that Hickes was the author of the "Letter." In a note to vol. i. of Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History, fol., 1758, p. 264, it is stated, that "This Sermon [of Tenison's] gave great offence to the disaffected, who were greatly incensed at the Queen for her conduct towards her father; and Dr. Thomas Kenn, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote a letter to Dr. Tennison, dated March 29th, 1695, upon the occasion of his Sermon, reproaching him particularly for not calling upon her Majesty, on her death-bed, to repent of the share she had in the Revolution."

† In vol. xxxii. p. 10, of Hearne's MSS. in the Bodleian, we find this entry, "Bishop Kenn's Letter to Tenison, on the Death of Queen Mary, and Mr. Dodwell's Letter to Tillotson about Schism, were printed together at London, 1705, 8vo." This has reference to the subsequent edition. In vol. ii. p. 522, of "A Collection of State Tracts, published during the Reign of King William III., "there is a

out of his retirement into the din of a contentious world, this at least was a topic uncongenial to him. The author of "*The Practice of Divine Love*" was incapable* of traducing the character of a Princess "whose high esteem he had gained by his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, *and whom to his death he distinguish'd by the title of his Mistress.*"† In all his acknowledged writings, or in his correspondence, no expression can be found that would harmonize with the whole tenor of this Letter of vehement animadversion.‡

But perhaps the best evidence we can have, to set this question at rest, is the opinion of Tenison himself. In a letter to John Evelyn, dated St. Martin's Church Yard, 20th April, 1695, he says, "I have with this sent you my Sermon at the Queen's Funeral: though I ordered one long ago, yet I fear

Defence of the Archbishop's Sermon on the Death of her late Majesty of blessed Memory," and of Sermons by Tillotson and other eminent Divines. This "Defence" is principally directed against a Pamphlet by some other hand, and has only a few lines of remark on the "Letter" in question. Nothing is surmised of Ken being the author: and the writer says, "The Style of it is, indeed, much modester than that I have just now dispatched, but the Design is the same; and tho' the Voice be *Jacob's*, the Hands are *Esau's*." See p. 538.

* As one passage alone of that work might show; "O, my God, amidst the deplorable divisions of Thy Church, let me never widen its breaches; but give me Catholic charity to all that are baptized in Thy Name, and Catholic Communion with all Christians in desire. O give me grace to pray daily for the peace of Thy Church, and earnestly to seek it, and to excite all I can to praise and love Thee."

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 7.

‡ This is the opinion of Round: he says, "In the absence of all evidence in favour of it's genuineness, the tone and temper shown through the whole of it are sufficient to prove, that it was not written by Ken." Preface to *Prose Works of Ken*, p. v.

it was not sent; you will excuse the plainness of it. There is come forth an answer to it, said to be written by Bishop Kenn; but I am not sure he is the author: *I think he has more wit, and less malice.*"*

Ken, therefore, we may be sure, was not the author. In his contemplative life, amid the secluded walks of Longleat, he was very differently engaged. "There," as Hawkins says, "he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces," to be found in his volumes of poetry.


"His cholick pains rendering him incapable of more serious study, he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, 'his great relish for Divine Poesy,' as thereby, in some measure, to palliate the acuteness of his pain. So close was his application to these studies, and so was his mind bent on quietness, that during all the time of his retirement, and among all the attempts of, and clamours against, those called *Jacobites*, in the reign of King William, he was never once disturb'd in that quiet enjoyment of himself; and 'tis presumed never suspected of any ill design, since never publicly molested, or privately rebuk'd. 'Tis true, he was once sent for by warrant to appear before the Privy Council, in the year 1696; but having the particular of that matter by me, left under his own hand, I think it best to refer the reader to it."†

* Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 345.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 25.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ken's humane disposition—Circular letter of the deprived Bishops, recommending a Charitable Fund for the relief of the Non-juring Clergy—Character and Death of Kettlewell—Ken summoned before the Privy Council, and released.

 HE friendship of Lord Weymouth had placed Ken beyond the reach of personal want: but he felt deeply for the distress of others. His alms now could not reach to the extent of his charitable desires, which had ever been unbounded: and, perhaps, he might sometimes sigh for the means of relieving others, like the charitable Anthony Horneck, of whom his biographer relates, "I never heard him complain but once, and that was a little before his last sickness, and then he complained that he wanted money to give to the poor." When the Bishop of Bath and Wells gave a great part of 4000*l.* to the exiled Huguenots, it did not satisfy him: how much less could he effect on 80*l.* a year! Then, of his abundance, he cast in all, as an offering to God;—now, his poor mite was an equally acceptable oblation, and laid up in the same treasury, not the less blessed to himself.

Writing to Bishop Lloyd, he excuses himself from coming to London, as

"Being consistent neither with my purse, nor convenience, nor health, nor inclination:"* At another time he says, "*When I told you that a London journey was not agreeable to my purse, it was no pretence, but a real truth. I am not able to support the expence of it, which all that know my condition will easily believe. I thank God I have enough to bring the year about, while I remain in the country, and this is as much as I desire. I have often been offered money for myself, but always refused it, and never take any but to distribute, and in the country I have nothing now for that good use put into my hands.*"†

His friend, Dr. Thomas Smith,† who pleaded the cause of others with him, often himself participated of his bounty. On one occasion Ken writes to him,—

"Living so long and so much in the country, I have no charitable contributions put into my hands, but of my own I can spare you the contents of the following note, which you would oblige me by accepting. I beseech God to keep us in His reverential love, and mindful of eternity."§ And again, "I entreat you to let me know with the freedom of a friend, when you are in any strait, or want supplies to carry on your labours of love for the publick."||

Six months later he says, "I deferred writing to you till the family [at Longleat] removed, intending to send by good Mr. Jenkins, from whom you will receive five pounds, as a token of the real respect I have for you. I can, thanks be to God, very well spare it, and I entreat you to oblige me by accepting it."

To this Dr. Smith answers,

"I hasten to make my grateful acknowledgem^e for the

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 56.

† Ibid. p. 57.

‡ A Non-juror, and a very learned Divine. He had been expelled from Magdalen College by James II.

§ Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 85.

|| Ibid. p. 93.

contents of your laſt letter ; and next, to unburthen myſelfe that I was extremely ſurprized, not to ſay, almoſt confounded, *ſupito & ſordito*, as the Italian phraſe is, with the exceſſive kindnes of your repeated preſent ; wth conſidering the narrownes of your owne circumſtances, I made it a ſcruple at conſcience whether I could fairly receive : tho' you are pleaſed in your letter to obviate that doubt by telling me *that you can very well ſpare it.*" *

Again the Biſhop writes to him,

"I entreat you to permit me to ſend you, now and then, ſome teſtimony of my eſteem, which I can well ſpare, and indeed, conſidering your labours of love and learning, all your friends can give to you is given to the publick. I am ſorry for good Lady Dutton and her daughters : I beſeech God to ſupport them. If when you go into the city you call on Brome, the Bookſeller, he will pay you fifty ſhillings, which I deſign for them, though *I deſire you to make no mention from whom it came.*" †

We have ſeen how he once pleaded with Burnet on behalf of the Church of Scotland ; ſo was he now foremoſt among the charitable, who alleviated the ſufferings of the deprived Scottiſh clergy. Some years later than our preſent date, Dr. Smith, introducing to him a clergyman from Scotland, thus expreſſes himſelf,

"London, 27th July, 1701.

"My Lord,

"I write this to comply with the urgent requeſt of the bearer, Mr. James Gray, a worthy clergyman of the Church of Scotland, now going to Bath, in attendance upon the

* Proſe Works of Ken, by Round, pp. 95, 97.

† Ibid. p. 105.

Countess of Roxburgh, and purposing after some little to wait upon your Lordship; tho' I tell him that this recommendation seems altogether superfluous and unnecessary, he not being unknowne to you, and having such an authentic attestation under the hands and seals of the Archb. of St. Andrew's, and the Bishop of Edinburgh.

"I know your Lordship's generous, and truly Christian compassion and concern for that grievously afflicted, and persecuted Church, and the distressed clergy thereof, and how ready and zealous you have been, upon all occasions suggested and offered, to promote this great duty of our religion, and to recommend to the humanity, to the good nature, to the charity, to the bounty of devout persons of your acquaintance, especially of a distinguishing character and quality, whom God has blessed with plentiful fortunes and estates, and who abound in the good things of this life, the sad, and wofull condition of such as suffer for conscience and righteousness sake. Which consideration has prevayled upon me to write so freely to your Lordship, and at the same time encourageth me to hope, that you will be pleased to pardon the trouble hereby given by,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most dutiful Servant,

*"T. S."**

If he felt compassion for the distress of the Non-jurors in Scotland, much more must he have done so for the deprived clergy in England, who were equal sufferers, and had a nearer and immediate claim on his compassion, some of them being in his own diocese. They had lost their all by refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, and many of them were reduced to the lowest state of penury. Their wives and families were literally starving; for though charitable

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 52.

people made collections on their behalf, the number of these objects of pity was too great to be maintained, except on the most precarious footing. At length, Mr. John Kettlewell, seeing that nothing could meet the urgency of their case, but systematic and authorized collections, drew up a "Model of a Fund of Charity for the needy suffering Clergy." His prudence and foresight, no less than his meekness, were a guarantee that the scheme would be effectual, and so guarded as to prevent giving just umbrage to a jealous Government. He proposed that the deprived Bishops should issue a Pastoral Letter, inviting all humane persons to contribute, and that they should be managers of the Fund, with others of the clergy, to be selected by themselves. The several cases of the sufferers were to be carefully examined, and distribution made in strict conformity with their merits and wants. By this plan, it was thought, that the Non-juring Bishops would have more control over the conduct of their clergy, and a protection be afforded against the many false pretenders, who had hitherto imposed on the charitably inclined.*

This proposal met with the warm concurrence of the deprived Bishops, themselves reduced to such a small pittance, that they could afford very little help to the inferior clergy. A letter of Kettlewell's to Bishop Lloyd shows the origin of the charitable fund, and is also an evidence of his frequent intercourse with Ken :

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 417.

" Dec. 20, 94.

" My Lord,

" I herewith present a small Book * to your Lordship, consisting of Thoughts, which have been much my study and employment under mine infirmities, and are fit to be soe still ; And which I hope may be of use to others, when they come, as sooner or later all must expect to come, into a state of decays and weaknes, not to add alsoe in their best state of health.

" *When my L^d B^p of B. and W^m in great kindness and charity, was pleased last to call here, I was proposing to him the setting up a Fund of Charity, for regular collection and distribution of the same among the poor suffering clergy.* I told him the good will you bore to it, only some difficultyes seemed to you therein, which I hoped might be removed. If he has seen your L^p since, I believe you had discourse upon it. Were this fund for the soldiery (tho' God knows enow among them have need enough) it may be, some might fancy they could with better colour charge it as a lifting of men. But being only for the clergye's relief, and their needs being notorious, methinkes, let them trouble whom they will, they cannot hurt them, and they may freely own and thanke God they have been employed therein ; and when the truth of all is laid open, all wise men of all parties must own, that it is an excellent part and proof of pastoral care, and the adversaries can only envy it, not fasten on anything to accuse or punish in it.

" For subscribing your Names and Titles, in any papers to recommend the same, and stir up charity, methinkes it would neither prejudice you, nor could offend them, if you write yourselves with an Epithete, noting, not the justice on one side or other, but only the actual suffering and force you are under, as *Suffering, Displaced, Ejected, Deprived*, or what

* Companion of the Penitent, and Persons troubled in mind, 1694, 8vo.

word you shall thinke more proper, added to *Bishops*, when you subscribe yourselves.

"I shall only add, that if upon your wife and mature consideration, Y^{re} L^p and Y^{re} Brethren the B^{ps} shall thinke this a feafible, as you will thinke it otherwise a good design, and for this regular provision like to go on, I have a friend who authorizes me to say he will give an hundred Pounds himself towards the beginning of the Fund, and I know he will moreover get as much of others towards the same as he can.

"Being laid up by my infirmities this winter, and soe incapable by waiting on you to speak these things to Your L^p myself, I here presume, with humble submission, to write them. Wherein if Your L^p perceive me to be wrong, your goodness will allow the honesty of my zeale for soe good a thing, to expiate my mistakes about the ways of its' promotion.

"I humbly beg your blessing, and remain,

"My hon^d L^t,

"Y^{re} L^{ps} faithful humble Serv^t,

"J. KETTLEWELL."*

The "infirmities" he speaks of increased too rapidly upon him: his naturally tender and delicate frame, over-wrought by study, could not withstand the fatal inroads of a consumption, symptoms of which had appeared when he was only twelve years old: he was snatched too early away from his admiring friends at the age of forty-two, on the 12th of April, 1695.

John Kettlewell presents to us one of the most perfect examples of holiness that adorn the history of the English Church. It seemed to all around him, even in earliest youth,† that God had endowed him with

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, compiled from the

peculiar grace. In every stage of his life the sweetness of his temper was remarkable. A capacious and refined intellect, extensive learning, endurance and courage, were the least of his qualities: these, as well as judgment, prudence, beneficence, modesty, candour, and reliance on God's mercy, have, one or other, been the leading points in many characters, justly revered in their day; but we find them all united in the person of Kettlewell. His tenderness of conscience, his self-abasement, his sense of God's attributes of infinite purity and justice, were harmonized by the Holy Spirit into a confiding Love, based on an immovable Faith in the saving efficacy of his Redeemer's death.* The author of Kettlewell's Life, speaking of the mutual regard between him and Ken, says,

Collections of Dr. George Hickes, and Robert Nelson, Esqs., supposed to have been written by Dr. Francis Lee, 8vo, 1718, pp. 15 to 20: see p. 645 *suprà*.

* Mr. Robert Nelson, who knew him, perhaps, as intimately as any one, thus sums up the character of Kettlewell;

"In short, he was learned without pride; wise and judicious without cunning; he served at the altar without either covetousness or ambition; he was devout without affectation; sincerely religious without moroseness; courteous and affable without flattery or mean compliances; just without rigor; charitable without vanity; and heartily zealous for the interest of religion without faction. May we who survive, imitate the pattern of his piety, that we may attain that happiness which he now possesses as the reward of it; and in consort with him and all those blessed souls who have departed this life in the faith and fear of God, sing Allelujahs to the King of Saints, salvation and glory, honour and power to Him that sitteth on the throne; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"14th Dec., 1695.

"ROBERT NELSON.†

"Blackheath."

† Works of Kettlewell, fol., 1719, vol. i. p. 703.

"There was such an harmony betwixt the spirit of one and the other of these excellent persons, in relation to their Pastoral and Ministerial duties, *as hardly there could be greater*; the good Bishop upon all proper occasions expressing the solid esteem which he had for Mr. Kettlewell, and for his judicious and pious Works."*

And again, in reference to the declaration of Bishop Ken's principles in the "Preamble of his Will," he says, that in the strong expression of his dying in the Communion of the Church of England,

"He did manifestly allude to his friend, Mr. Kettlewell, and to that particular Treatise of his, designed to prove '*Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross*:'† neither can there remain any manner of doubt, but that it was approved of by him in the same sense as Mr. Kettlewell wrote it in."

We have recorded Sancroft's opinion of his abilities and learning; but however men differed on the prevailing topics of political or ecclesiastical controversy, all united in one common accord of admiration for his unblemished and loveable character. It is an honour to Bishop Ken, that he was the model, which this younger Saint appears to have followed in maturing his Christian character. It is an equal testimony to the virtues of Kettlewell, that he so closely resembled the Bishop in his disposition. Their sacred friendship for each other suffered no interrup-

* Life of Kettlewell, pp. 422.

† Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross, or Passive-Obedience under any pretended Invasion of Legal Rights and Liberties. This is the work which was sent to Sancroft in manuscript, and called forth the eulogy before alluded to, and to which Ken more than once refers, saying, "I was always of his opinion, and I approved of the book in manuscript."

tion. In the very recreations, which they allowed themselves from their labours and study, there was a similarity of tastes. Kettlewell's chief diversion was music, "in the theory of which he was well skilled; and in the practical part too he was not deficient:" their favourite instruments were the same—they both played the viol. Kettlewell's published prayers are inferior to those of Ken, which perhaps have never been excelled in our language: his sermons are wanting in the rich imagery, and fervid, impassioned eloquence, which made the Bishop the first of Preachers: in varied learning Kettlewell excelled his friend.

They were united not only by the bond of personal affection, but by perfect agreement in their principles on the great questions of the Church, for which both were sufferers. Had Kettlewell lived but a few years longer, there can be little doubt that he would have concurred with his most intimate friend, Robert Nelson, in the final measure of Ken for healing the schism.* Soon after his death, Nelson published a volume of Kettlewell's Sermons, with some account of his life and character: he sent a copy to the Bishop, who thus expressed his acknowledgments,

"March 2. 1695.

"Sir,

"I received the book which I imagined came from you,

* See Lathbury's Hist. of Non-jurors, p. 183, which might seem to raise a doubt on this: but a subsequent passage justifies the opinion expressed in the text. Mr. Lathbury says, "I have before alluded to Kettlewell's opinions. Though he differed from Dodwell, yet there is reason to believe that had he lived, until the death of Lloyd, he would have acted with Nelson, and Brokesby." Lathbury's Hist. of the Non-jurors, p. 200.

and for which I return you many thanks; and since that, your obliging letter came to my hands. You have done an honour to our dead friend, which we all ought to acknowledge: and I am very glad that his life is writing by another hand, as you tell me. *He was certainly as Saint-like a man as ever I knew; and his books are demonstrations of it, which are full of as solid and searching a piety as ever I read.* God was pleased to take him from the evil to come, to his own infinite advantage, but to *our great loss*. His blessed will be done. Since the date of your letter, a *New Scene* has been opened; and if the Act passes, which is now on the anvil, I presume the prisons will be filled with the malcontents; and your friend [*i. e.* Ken himself], though innocent, and inoffensive, yet apprehends he may share in the calamity: and foreseeing it, it will be no surprize to him. In respect of that sort of men, I have been always of the mind of the Prophet, that their *strength was to sit still*: and so it will be found at the long run. And 'tis the wisest and most dutiful way, *to follow, rather than to anticipate Providence, &c.* I commend you all to God's most gracious protection.

"Good Sir, your very affectionate Servant.*

Superfcribed

"For his Worthy Friend, Mr. Nelson,
at his House on Blackheath."

And indorsed by Mr. Nelson,

"Bishop Kenn's Testimony about
Mr. Kettlewell."

Kettlewell, on his death bed, received the holy Sacrament from the hands of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich.† Mr. Bell, who also attended him in his last

* Life of Kettlewell, Appendix, p. lxxxvi.

† "Upon the twenty-third of March [1695], Bishop Lloyd, of Norwich, administered to him the LORD'S SUPPER; Dr. Thomas Smith, Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe, Mr. Nathaniel Spinkes, Mr. Thomas Bradley, and Mrs. Kettlewell, his wife, communicating with him." Life of Ket-

moments, had been appointed to read the funeral service over him ; but Ken was permitted to pay this tribute of affection to his memory,—probably at his own earnest request :

“ His funeral rites were solemnized upon April 15th [1695], by the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Thomas Kenn, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Deprived, out of the most particular respect to his pious memory : who read the Burial-Office, and the whole Evening Service, in his *Episcopal* habits. Mr. Bell, who attended during his sickness, and whom he had, therefore, desired to perform this last Office, consenting thereunto. The pall, as he himself had ordered, was held up by Mr. Bradley, Mr. Spinkes, and two other of his particular friends.” *

This is the only recorded instance of Ken’s public administration of the services of the Church after his deprivation.

The intended “ Model of a Fund for Charity ” was delayed for some time by the death of Kettlewell, with whom it originated. But in July the deprived Bishops drew up the following Pastoral Letter, which was called—

“ The Charitable Recommendation of the *Deprived Bishops.* ”

“ *To all Christian people, to whom this Charitable Recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.* ”

“ Whereas We, the present *Deprived Bishops* of this

tlewell, 8vo, p. 439. “ Such a careful and wise provision had he made for his last hours, as to be able to look death in the face, not only without amazement, but even with a great degree of joy and consolation.” Works of Kettlewell, fol., 1719, vol. i. p. 703.

* “ He was buried in the parish church of All-hallows, Barking,

Church, have certain information, that many of our *Deprived* Brethren of the Clergy, their wives, children, and families, are reduced to extreme want, and unable to support themselves, and their several charges, without the charitable relief of pious and well disposed Christians; and being earnestly mov'd by several of them to represent their distressed condition to the mercy and compassion of such tender-hearted persons, as are inclined to commiserate and relieve the Afflicted Servants of God,

"Now We, in compliance with their Intreaty, and with all due regard to their *Suffering* circumstances, have thought it our Duty (as far as in *law* we may) heartily to recommend their necessitous condition to all pious, good people; hoping and praying that they will take their case into their serious consideration, and putting on the bowels of Charity, extend their Alms to them, and their needy families.

"And we will not cease to pray for a Blessing upon such their Benefactors: and remain in all Christian Offices,

"*Your's*

"William <i>Bishop</i> of Norwich	} now deprived.
Robert <i>Bishop</i> of Gloucester	
Francis <i>Bishop</i> of Ely	
Thomas <i>Bishop</i> of Bath and Wells	
Thomas <i>Bishop</i> of Peterborough	

"July 22, 1695."

The reservation, "*as far as in law we may*," was inserted at the instance of friendly lawyers, who foresaw, that this manifestation of the Episcopal character might expose them to a prosecution. The object of the Charitable Fund ought to have protected the

near the Tower of London, in the same grave where Archbishop Laud was before interred, within the rails of the altar." Works of Kettlewell, fol., 1719, vol. i. p. 484.

harmless authors from any personal trouble, although it was in the form of an Encyclical Letter, or Brief; and it would probably have passed without public notice, but for the plot of Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, and others, to assassinate William. This excited the Government to increased watchfulness and jealousy, and induced the Privy Council to issue warrants for the appearance of the Prelates on suspicion of Treason.* It was not the first time that Ken, Turner, and White† had been summoned before this tribunal in the cause of religion. In the former reign, they had been sent to the Tower for maintaining the in-

* The following is the form of the warrants, entered in the "Council Register:"

"These are in his Majesty's name to authorize, and require you forthwith to make strict and diligent search for William, late Bishop of Norwich, and him having found, together with his papers, to apprehend and seize, for suspicion of High Treason, and treasonable practices, and to bring him in safe custody, with his said papers, before us, to be examined concerning such matters as shall be objected against him, relating to the premises, and be further dealt with according to law. In due execution hereof all Mayors, Sheriffs, &c., are to be aiding. From the Council Chamber, dated y^e 14th Aprill, 1696.

Signed,

"J. Bridgewater

Stamford

Montague

Dursley

Cornwallis

H. Boscawen.

"To Charles Couchman, one of the Messengers of His Majesty's Chamber."

"The like warrant for the apprehending the persons and papers of Francis, late Bishop of Ely, of Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Thomas, late Bishop of Peterborough, for suspicion of High Treason, and Treasonable Practices, dated and signed as the above Warrant."

The messenger named for executing the warrant on Ken, was Nicholas Hill. Council Register, W.R., No. 4, p. 391.

† There was no warrant issued against Robert Frampton, of Gloucester, though he signed the paper. He lived far away in the country in complete retirement.

tegrity of the Church, and now they were threatened with the same punishment for advocating the claims of sufferers for conscience sake.

Nearly ten years had elapsed since Ken's memorable trial at Westminster Hall. The vigour of his frame was now impaired by sickness, and he had not, as before, the prayers and acclamations of a whole nation to sustain his fortitude: the cold indifference, to say the least, with which he was greeted, might well damp the ardour of his mind, had he regarded the opinion of men. In 1688 King James anxiously waited the arrival of the Bishops from Lambeth Palace, and they were at once ushered into his presence: but now Ken had to give his attendance three times in the outer waiting room of the Council Chamber, before he was admitted.* The Lords gave him a favourable hearing; and afterwards Mr. Bridgman (Clerk of the Council) was sent out to him to tell him that they expected a copy of his answers. Accordingly he drew up an account of the whole proceedings, which has been preserved to us by Hawkins,† and in the Life of Kettlewell.‡ It is one of the most interesting records of his life, as it exhibits in the clearest light his courage, and the simplicity of his character. His "ACCOUNT" begins as usual by ascribing "ALL GLORY TO GOD," and ends

* Without imputing any designed neglect on the part of King William's Lords of the Council, we are reminded by this scene of the indignity put upon Cranmer. Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*, Act v. Scene ii.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 48.

‡ Appendix, lxxiii.

with " beseeching God to be gracious to their Lordships."

" *The Answer of THOMAS Bath and Wells, deprived, to certain Interrogatories proposed to him by the Lords of the Privy Council.*

" April 28, 1696.

" ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

" After the favourable hearing, which this day the Lords of the most Honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr. Bridgman came out to me to tell me, that their Lordships expected a copy of my answers ; which, as far as I can recollect, I here humbly offer to your Lordships.

" The printed paper subscrib'd by the depriv'd Bishops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being shew'd me, I was ask'd,

" ' Did you subscribe this paper ?'

" *A.* My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect ; for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfill'd by it ; and what we were not able to do our selves, was done by others ; the hungry were fed, and the naked were cloath'd ; and to feed the hungry, to cloathe the naked, and to visit those who are sick or in prison, is that plea which all your Lordships as well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, must make for your selves at the great day. And that which you must all plead at God's tribunal for your eternal Absolution, shall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here.

" It was then said to this purpose ; ' No one here condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it: your paper is illegal.'

" *A.* My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical part : I am no lawyer, but shall want lawyers to plead that ; and I have been very well assured that it is legal. My Lords, I will sincerely give your Lordships an account of the part I had in it. The first person who proposed it to me, was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God ; and after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it, and then went into the countrey to my retirement in an

obscure village, where I live above the suspicion of giving any the least umbrage to the Government.

“ My Lords, I was not active in making collections in the countrey, where there are but few such objects of charity, but good people of their own accord sent me towards four-score pounds, of which about one half is still in my hands.

“ I beg your Lordships to observe this clause in our paper, ‘ As far as in Law we may : ’ and to receive such charity, is, I presume, ‘ which in law I may ; ’ and to distribute it, is a thing also, ‘ which in Law I may.’

“ It was objected to this purpose : ‘ this money has been abus’d and given to very ill and immoral men ; and particularly to one who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat another.’

“ *A.* My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a mistake, and no crime, unless what was given was given him to an ill purpose ; nay, to give to an ill man and knowingly, is our duty, if that ill man wants necessaries of life ; for as long as God’s patience and forbearance indulges that ill man life to lead him to repentance, we ought to support that life God indulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.

“ My Lords, in King James’s time, there were about a thousand or more imprison’d in my Diocese, who were engag’d in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth ; and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion ; and yet for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them. ’Tis well known to the Diocese, that I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supply’d them with necessaries my self, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same ; and yet King James never found the least fault with me. And if I am now charged with misapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordships, that St. Paul’s Apostolical rule may be observ’d, ‘ Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses ; ’ for I am sure none can testify that against me. What I gave, I gave in the countrey ; and I gave to none

but those who did both want and deserve it: the last that I gave was to two poor widows of depriv'd clergymen, one whereof was left with six, the other with seven small children.

"It was said to this purpose: 'You are not charg'd your self with giving to ill men, though it has been done by others: but the paper comes out with a pretence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the nature of a brief; and if such practices are permitted, private men may supersede all the briefs granted by the King.'

"*A.* My Lords, I beg your pardon, if I cannot give a full answer to this; I am no lawyer, and am not prepar'd to argue it in law.

"It was further objected to this purpose: 'by sending forth this paper, you have usurp'd Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.'

"*A.* My Lords, I never heard that begging was a part of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allow'd us.

"I make no doubt, but your Lordships may have had strange misinformations concerning this paper: but having sincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly submit my self to your Lordships' justice.

"I presume your Lordships will come to no immediate resolution concerning me; and having voluntarily surrendred my self, and the warrant having never been serv'd on me till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordships, that I may return to my sister's house, where I have hitherto lodg'd, which is a place the messenger knows well; and that I may be no otherwise confin'd, till I have receiv'd your Lordship's final resolution.

"This favour your Lordships were pleas'd very readily to grant me; for which I return my humble acknowledgments, beseeching God to be gracious to your Lordships.

"THOMAS BATH AND WELLS,
"Depriv'd." *

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, pp. 48 to 56.

Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough, also gave in their "discreet answers:" but we have no record of what they were. The papers were submitted to the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion,* and nearly a month elapsed before the Bishops were discharged from the gently exercised, and perhaps almost nominal custody of the messengers.†

* "At the Council Chamber in Whitehall,
the 29th of Aprill, 1696.

"It is this day ordered in Council, that the several papers which come herewith, about a collection of moneys, made by virtue of a printed Recommendation from some of the deprived Bishops, be transmitted to Mr. Attorney [Treby], and Mr. Solicitor Generall [Hawles], who are to consider of y^e said papers, and report as soon as conveniently may be their opinion what is fitt to be done in the matter, and in what manner the persons concerned therein may be prosecuted according to law." Eleven of the Council were present. Council Register, W.R., No. 4, p. 408.

† "At the Council Chamber in Whitehall,
the 23rd of May, 1696.

"These are in His Majesty's name to authorize and require you, and every of you, forthwith to discharge, and set at liberty the bodies of William, late Bishop of Norwich, Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas, late Bishop of Peterboro', Thomas Wagstaff, Clerk, and [blank] Spinks, Clerk, committed to y^e custody by warrants from this Board, for suspicion of treason, and treasonable practices, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"From the Council Chamber in Whitehall, the 23rd day of May, 1696.

Signed,

"J. Bridgewater
Tankerville
P. Bertie

Will^m Trumbull
H. Goodricks
H. Boscarwen."

Ibid. p. 433. It will be observed that no mention is made in this discharge of Turner of Ely, probably because he was still in concealment, and did not appear before the Council. Sir William Trumbull, who signed the warrant for their discharge from custody, was not present at the Council Board when the order passed for their apprehension. From his former association with Ken, some notice of him will not be out of place. Sir William was a statesman by descent;—his grandfather

The author of Kettlewell's *Life* gives the following account of these proceedings :

" Thus the matter being now brought before the Privy Council, the storm had like to have fallen heavy upon the

having been one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, and Envoy to the Court of Brussels from James and Charles I. We have already caught some glimpses of him, in the progress of his useful and patriotic career, first as the companion of Ken in the voyage to Tangier (p. 199), and secondly as Ambassador to the Court of France (p. 328); in which capacity, his profession of a "juris-consult" rendered him unwelcome to Louis XIV., even before his high and honourable spirit had been discovered. He subsequently served his country as Ambassador at Constantinople, and appears to deserve the character conferred on him by Burnet: "He was the most eminent of all our civilians, and was by much the best pleader in those Courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a virtuous man." In 1694 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, and, in 1695, Secretary of State—which office he relinquished on 5 December, 1697. While holding this high position, we find him subscribing 100*l.* to the erection of Greenwich Hospital, and representing the University of Oxford in Parliament. From public life he retired to his seat at East Hampstead, in Berkshire, of which county, like Ken, he was a native. Literature was the solace and ornament of his later years. He cheered the aged, but unflagging, muse of Dryden, then engaged on his translation of Virgil,—and fostered the youthful genius of Pope; and henceforth, says Sir Walter Scott, "the young bard, and the old statesman were almost inseparable companions." Sir William died in 1716, at the age of 78, and his Epitaph was written by the poet whom he had loved. His correspondence with Pope is to be found in the Works of that author, and he also wrote a character of Archbishop Dolben. He married the Lady Judith Alexander, daughter of the fourth Earl of Stirling, and his representative, through a female descendant, is the present Marquis of Downshire. If Sir William Trumbull took any part, on the occasion of Ken being summoned before the Council, we may well infer from the general tenour of his character, and from his recollections of the Tangier voyage, that he suggested measures of forbearance and gentleness. It is probable, too, that he counted amongst his kinsmen (D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, pp. 311, 328) Dr. Charles Trumbull, a respectable Non-juring Clergyman, who, having served Archbishop Sancroft as Chaplain in the days of his greatness, was privileged to administer the Holy Communion to the deprived Primate on his death-bed. Granger's *Biographical Hist. of England*. Trotter's *Life of Fox* (3rd edit.), p. 268. Burnet's *Own*

heads and principal managers of the fund proposed; but that by the discreet answers given to the Lords of the Council, it was thought proper at last to drop this affair as easily as could be, after having put a stop to the method which was taken. Particularly Bishop Kenn upon his examination made such an apology for the part he had in it, as was irresistible, his answers being those of a true Christian Bishop."*

Ken might have been under some uneasiness during this interval; but what voice could be raised against him after so explaining himself? He was dismissed to his meditation and prayers. Health, station, influence, were no longer his: but his heart was filled with the sweetness of God's presence, compensating all other wants. In his public life he had never striven for advancement in the world, which was to him as a fleeting vision: every act had been a growth towards Heaven; in his retirement he had the happiness of a meek spirit, which ripened him for bliss. It was not here he had ever expected to be satisfied; and now he had more than he thought he deserved. Bounties, or crosses,—whichever befel him, seemed equally blessed. Under every trial his faith was constant, his obedience cheerful. Poor though he was, he had a readiness of heart to administer comfort to others, and a free, sincere, and entire contentment in all God's appointments for himself.

But the anxieties of the peaceable Non-jurors were

Time (Smith's edit.), pp. 382, 488, 583. Rapin's *Hist. of England*, fol., 1758, vol. iii. pp. 214, 253, 280, 302, 310, 378. Smedley's *Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 280. Evelyn's *Diary* (ed. 1850), vol. ii. p. 344. Dryden's *Works*, by Sir Walter Scott, vol. xv. p. 190. Burke's *Peerage for 1843*, "Downshire," and "Sandys."

* *Life of John Kettlewell*, pp. 420, 421, 422.

kept alive by the indiscretion of their hot brethren and of the Papists, and other Jacobites, who were in correspondence with the court of St. Germain's. This, and the Assassination Plot against the life of William, led to a new Act for compelling all persons to take an Oath, abjuring the rights of James. Many of the Non-jurors, rather than conform to this, now resolved to leave the country. Ken thus writes, on the occasion, to his friend Mr. Harbin ;

“ Winton, Jan. 22.

“ Good Sir,

“ I staid at Sarum longer than I intended, by which means I received your letter, which gave me much satisfaction for the present ; but since that, I hear that the *Abjuration* goes on, only they have changed voluntary into compulsory. I am troubled to see the nation likely to be involved in new UNIVERSAL OATHS, but hope they will be *imposed* on none but those who were employed or promoted in Church and State. I came to Winchester yesterday, where I stay one post more, and then goe either to St. R. U. or L. Newton, where you shall hear from me. *Little Matthew* is very well, and the schoolmaster, at whose house I lodge, tells me he is very regular, and *minds his book*.* My best respects where most due. I beseech God to multiply His blessings on yourselfe, and on the family where you are.

“ Your truly affectionate Friend and Brother,

“ T. B. & W.” †

And in another letter to Harbin, “ You will do me the

* The only entry of any boy of the name of Matthew on the Winchester Books, for several years before or after 1695 and 1703, is as follows : “ *Mattheus Stent*, de Parochiâ S^{ti} Andreæ, Comit. Midx. ann. 13. ad fest. S^{ti} Michaelis 1695 : admissus Dec. 26 : festo S^{ti} Stephani, 1696.

† Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 53 ; from Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 228.

kindness to set me at ease about it, and let me know whether it will be *enforced*. It is an Oath *I shall never take*. I will rather leave the kingdom, old and infirm as I am; and if it is likely to drive me to that [illegible] I would gladly [illegible] to prepare for the storme, as possibly may be had. Pray write by Tuesday's post, and direct to William Jones, at Canon Walton's house, in the Close in Sarum. My humble service to my Lord and Lady. God help us, &c.

"Yours goode Sir,

"Very affectionately,

"T. B. & WELLS." *

He had constantly to mourn for the removal, one by one, of old friends with whom he had been engaged in the more exciting events of past years. Thomas White, of Peterborough (one of the seven Bishops sent to the Tower) died in May, 1698. He was a bold-hearted, yet most charitable man, and administered his Diocese with "very great prudence and care." Kennett describes him as

"An excellent Preacher in London, Chaplain to the Princess Anne, Vicar of Newark, Archdeacon of Nottingham: a man famous for strength of body, and greatness of courage. He fairly beat a Trooper of the King's Life Guard, at Dartford in Kent, and made him bring the Parson's horse into the stall from which he had moved him: for which K. Charles II. jocosely charged him with high treason." †

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 54; from Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 231. In the absence of the precise date of these letters, Bowles ascribes them to 1701: but they rather belong to this period of 1696, when the "*voluntary*" Association, to which Ken alludes for supporting William's title to the throne, was superseded by the Act referred to in the text.

† Bishop Kennett's Collections, Lansdowne MSS. 987, pp. 28, 151, and sect. 98.

Being deprived for not taking the Oaths, he had "lived privately in and about London, and being a single man, distributed a good deal in charity." The respect in which he was held by the Non-jurors may be estimated by Evelyn's account of his funeral:

"5th June, 1698. Dr. White, late Bishop of Peterborough,* who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's churchyard, or vault, at St. Paul's. His hearse was accompanied by two Non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with forty other Non-juror clergymen, who would not stay the Office of the Burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a conforming minister to read the office, at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office which mentioned the present King."

In the following year (1699) Ken lost one who had been still more closely allied to him by the sympathies of a long uninterrupted affection,—Dr. John Fitzwilliam, the deprived rector of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire. We have seen that, at Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, he succeeded Ken, whom he used afterwards to call his "ever dear friend," "spiritual guide," and "truly honored father." The name of Fitzwilliam is handed down to us as the intimate correspondent of Lady Rachel Russell, to whose father (the Earl of Southampton) he had formerly been domestic chaplain. After the execution of her hus-

* In the published Diary it is "Norwich," which is clearly a mistake. Evelyn's Diary, edit. 1850, vol. ii. p. 349. See also, for an account of Bp. White, the Life of John Kettlewell, p. 431, where he is described as having been Chaplain to the Duke of York; Willis's Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 510; and Salmon's Lives of English Bishops, p. 323.

band, William Lord Russell, she speaks of Fitzwilliam's letters, and "excellent prayers" in glowing terms, as being her

"Constant solace, and inexpressible comfort, disposing my sad heart to be submissively content with my portion here;—never could you have fed me with such discourses, and left me with expectations of new repasts, in a more seasonable time than these my miserable months;—I accept most kindly every method you take for the disposing my sad heart to be submissively content with my portion here, and then to revive it to some thankful temper by various reflections."*

Although he could never himself take the Oath of Allegiance, he had charitable thoughts of those who did. He could not "leave his own conscience to follow the opinion of others."† Lady Russell endeavoured by reasonable arguments to persuade him; he entreats her "not to call boggling at an Oath, *clashing against another*, as far as I can discern, *which I formerly took*, an unnecessary scruple."‡ He sends her the form of Oath he had taken to James II.,—to show how incompatible it was with that which was now required of him. She wonders at his difficulty about the Allegiance,—“the acceptation of a word, which I never heard two declare the meaning of but they differed in their sense of it. You say you could have taken it in the sense some worthy men have done. Why will you be more worthy than those men? 'Tis supererogation.”§ But he remained constant. Some years later (in 1696), when the new

* Letters of Lady Rachel Russell, 6th edit. 1801, pp. 5, 60, 62.

† Ibid. p. 219.

‡ Ibid. p. 219.

§ Ibid. p. 233.

Oath was to be exacted, abjuring the rights of James, Fitzwilliam had serious thoughts of retiring abroad to some neutral town, and wrote to Lady Russell for her interest at Court to procure a pass. She warmly dissuades him from this, and urges compliance with the Government :

“Stay, and endure, for the example, comfort, and support of others. Remember, good Doctor, 'tis the calling in Popery must be the issue, which God, in His watchful Providence, has, in appearance, put away from us. And I hope all, who have accepted of the way, you do not judge hardly of. I know you do not; and therefore, tho' you can't satisfy your mind, discourage not others. I am sure the Bishop of Bath and Wells excited others to comply, when he could not bring himself to do so, but rejoiced that others could.”*

But these anxieties wore away, and he,—who had been “used to feast in the house of mourning,”†—was permitted to die in peace, in 1699. His will, dated the 24th August, 1696, opens with one of those glowing professions of Faith, so common in former times, so rare now, by which men used to animate their survivors to steadfastness in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. After leaving his library, and the sum of 500*l.* to Magdalen College, Oxford, and communion-plate to the parish of Cottenham, he bequeathed the residue of his property “to be divided by two equal proportions, between his

* Letters of Lady Rachel Russell, p. 321, note at p. 530 of this vol.

† This beautiful application of scriptural language is Lady Rachel Russell's own. Letters, &c., p. 300.

executor, hereafter to be named, one for his own use, and the other between his poor kindred, and distressed brethren," (probably the deprived clergy). The will then proceeds,

"Of this my last Will and Testament I constitute my ever dear friend, and now my truly honored father, Dr. Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the sole executor, earnestly beseeching him to take that trouble upon him, and to accept of, besides what I have left him, after the payment of debts, legacies, and funeral charges, fifteen pounds to buy him mourning, and a ring, a pendulum repeating clock, a walnut escrutore, with a chest of drawers."

A codicil provides that—

"Whereas I have left five hundred pounds to be paid by my executor, the Reverend Father in God, and Bishop, Dr. Thomas Ken, to Magdalen College in Oxford, when he saw a fitt opportunity, my meaning is, that the said Reverend Father should enjoy the interest of the money during his life, unless he shall think fit to pay it before his death."

The Will was proved by Bishop Ken, the 17th March, 1699, and it appears, that this small but acceptable addition to his income was continued to him during his life. The principal sum was secured by the bond of Lady Rachel Russell, which, after Ken's death, was delivered by his executor, William Hawkins, to the Burfar of Magdalen.*

* Ledger W. p. 210, in the Burfary of Magdalen College, Oxford. For this and other information, relative to Fitzwilliam, I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, Senior Fellow.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Death of James II.—Death of William III.; his character—Accession of Queen Anne—Bishop Kidder killed in the Palace at Wells during the great Storm—Anne offers to restore Ken to Bath and Wells; he declines, and persuades Dr. Hooper to accept his Bishopric, which he resigns into his hands.



As time thus wore away, and his friends received their last summons one by one, Ken continued to be the object of general respect, as an example of primitive holiness and charity. At this period it was, that Dryden composed his well-known "*Character of a Good Parson, imitated from Chaucer, and enlarged.*" We cannot have positive evidence, that Ken was the model which prompted these beautiful lines: but there is strong ground for the opinions, expressed by Bowles, Markland, and others, beyond the resemblance of the portrait, which is so great as almost to identify the original. We know that Sir William Trumbull, and Samuel Pepys, were the common friends of the Poet and of the Bishop;—that Dryden's political opinions, and his having conformed to the Roman faith, would incline him to the Non-jurors, who were fellow-sufferers with himself, and we learn, from a letter of Dryden, that the poem was composed at the

instance of Pepys.* Sir Walter Scott, in his *Life of Dryden*, and also in a subsequent note to the Poem, expresses his opinion, that it “applies to the Non-juring Clergy, who lost their benefices for refusing the Oath of Allegiance to King William.”† In the “*EXPOSTULATORIA*,” which was published a few months after Ken’s death, he is expressly said to have been Dryden’s model for the “*Character of a Good Parson*.” The author of the Preface to that work, after eulogizing the Bishop for his extensive charities, by which “*he made the Poor his Executors during his life*,” proceeds,—what remains for me to say is, “*‘Go thou, and do likewise,’ and take his Character from the following Lines, in which Mr. Dryden has very accurately, and justly drawn his Picture*.”‡ Mr. Willmott, also, in his *Lives of Sacred Poets*, adopts the same opinion.§ Let the lines now speak for themselves, and they will, no doubt, carry conviction to the reader’s mind :

“ A Parish Priest was of the pilgrim-train,
An awful, reverend, and religious man.
His eyes diffus’d a venerable grace,
And charity itself was in his face.

* See *The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. ii. pp. 254-5.

The poem first appeared in a folio volume, published in 1700, under the title of “*Fables, Ancient and Modern*. Translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer; with original Poems.”

† Preface to Dryden’s Works, p. 225, and vol. xi. p. 398.

‡ “*EXPOSTULATORIA*, or the Complaints of the Church of England, &c. By the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Kenn, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.” London, 8vo, 1711. This is one of the works falsely ascribed to Ken.

§ Note, p. 105.

Rich was his soul, *tho' his attire was poor,*
 (As God had cloth'd his own Ambassador);
 For such, on earth, his bless'd Redeemer bore.
Of sixty years he seem'd;* and well might last
 To sixty more, but that he lived too fast;
 Refined himself to soul, to curb the sense,
 And made almost a sin of abstinence.
 Yet, had his aspect nothing of severe,
 But such a face as promis'd him sincere.
 Nothing reserv'd, or sullen was to see:
 But sweet regards; and pleasing sanctity:
 Mild was his accent, and his action free.
 With eloquence innate his tongue was arm'd;
 Tho' harsh, the precept yet the people charm'd.
 For, letting down the golden chain on high,
 He drew his audience upward to the sky:
 And oft, with holy Hymns, he charm'd their ears:
 (*A music more melodious than the spheres*).
 For David left him, when he went to rest,
 His Lyre; and after him, he sung the best.†
 He bore his great commission in his look:
 But sweetly temper'd awe; and soften'd all he spoke.
 He preach'd the joys of Heav'n, and pains of hell;
 And warn'd the sinner with becoming zeal;
 But on eternal Mercy lov'd to dwell.
 He taught the Gospel rather than the Law;
 And forc'd himself to drive, but lov'd to draw.

Yet of his little, he had some to spare,
 To feed the famish'd, and to clothe the bare;
 For mortified he was to that degree,
 A poorer than himself he wou'd not see.
 True Priests, he said, and preachers of the Word,
 Were only stewards of their Sov'reign Lord;
 Nothing was theirs; but all the publick store:
 Intrusted riches, to relieve the poor.

* Ken was now 62; and as Chaucer makes no mention of the "Parson's" age, this resemblance of Dryden's own framing seems very significant.

† Markland reasonably thinks this allusion to the Hymns almost decides the fact of the poem being framed on the character of Ken.

Now, thro' the land, his cure of souls he stretch'd;
 And like a primitive Apostle preach'd.
 Still cheerful; ever constant to his call;
 By many follow'd; lov'd by most, admir'd by all.
With what he begg'd, his brethren he reliev'd;
And gave the charities himself receiv'd;
Gave, while he taught; and edify'd the more,
*Because he shew'd, by proof, 'twas easy to be poor."**

Francis Turner of Ely went to his rest in November, 1700. Of all the deprived Bishops he was the most persevering for the restoration of James, to whom he had been Chaplain, when Duke of York. He incurred great personal risk in this hopeless cause; and we have seen how his indiscreet zeal exposed all the party to suspicion of plotting against the government.

We find no record of Ken's feelings at the loss of this, his earliest friend: but in several of his letters, referring to their agreement in ecclesiastical principles, he mentions him as "the Bishop of Ely now with God."

Soon afterwards (in the beginning of 1701), Ken was induced to renew his endeavours to heal the separation, or as he calls it, to "close the rupture." The appointment of Dr. George Hooper to be Prolocutor of the Convocation, encouraged him to hope, that the occasion was propitious. It only required a joint resignation, by Lloyd and himself, of their canonical rights,—for Frampton had "never interrupted communion with the Jurors," and would concur in anything which tended to peace. He

* Dryden's Works, Scott's edit. vol. xi. p. 394. These four last lines may have been in allusion to the Charitable Fund for the Non-juring Clergy.

therefore wrote an urgent letter for this object to Dr. George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, whose influence among the Non-jurors was so powerful, that nothing could be done without his aid. He begs him to consult Lloyd, and Dr. Smith, Wagstaffe, and "the excellent Mr. Dodwell," and then proceeds:

"In the mean time, give me leave to suggest my present thoughts, if it is not judged advisable for my Brother of Norwich and myself, to resign up our canonical claims, which would be the shortest way, and which I am ready to do, for the repose of the flock, having long ago maintained it to justify our character; if, I say, this is not thought advisable, then that a circular letter should be penned, and dispersed, which should modestly and yet resolutely, assist the cause for which we suffer, and declare that our opinion is still the same, in regard to Passive-obedience, and specify the reasons which induce us to communicate in the Publick Offices, the chiefest of which is to restore the peace of the Church, which is of that importance, that it ought to supersede all ecclesiastical canons, they being only of human, and not divine authority. A letter to this purpose would make our presence at some or the prayers rightly understood to be no betraying of our cause; would guard us against any advantage our adversaries may take from our Christian condescension; would relieve fundamental charity, and give a general satisfaction to all well-minded persons. I offer this with submission, and out of a sincere zeal for the good of the Church, and I beseech the Divine goodness to guide both sides into the way of peace, that we may with one mind, and one mouth, glorify God.

"Y^r most affect. Friend and Brother,

"B. & W. *

"17 March, 1700, 1701."†

* Bp. Lloyd adds a note, "A copy of this I had from Mr. Dean of W——r, on the 11th of April, 1701." W. N.

† Sic in original hand writing of Lloyd of Norwich, from whose copy in Dr. Williams's Collection, this is taken.

This appeal was made in vain: Hickes was irreconcilable:—in 1689 he had nailed up to the Cathedral door of Worcester his Protest against the Intrusion of his successor, and it would have been as easy to move the Cathedral itself, as to make him swerve from his fixed purpose.

Two events now occurred, of the deepest interest and importance to all parties. James and William were taken away within six months of each other.* One had outlived his hopes;—the other had learnt, that successful ambition is but little conducive to happiness. Who can say which of the two, in their contests, had gained most for eternity,—he who lost, or he who won the Crown? On both it had pressed uneasily. James meditated deep inroads on the English and Scotch Churches,—but he was frustrated: William had the power to inflict upon them wounds as deep, and more lasting:—and he exercised it to the full. We feel them to this day. His last thoughts were bent on the passing of a law enacting new oaths, to be taken by all persons,—abjuring the claims of James's son. But his dying hand was too feeble to affix the sign manual to this stringent measure of policy. His throne was already passing away to

* James II. died at St. Germain's, on the 6th of Sept. 1701. There is a letter among the Cole MSS., apparently addressed to Lloyd of Norwich, which gives some curious particulars of the King's death: "He asked pardon of all whom he might have any ways injured: at the same time he forgave all the world, the Emperor, the P. of O., his daughter, and every one of his subjects who had designedly contrived, and contributed to, his harms and misfortunes."† William died the 8th of March, 1702.

† Cole MSS. in the Brit. Mus., vol. lix. p. 192.

another,—to one whom he cordially disliked, and had treated with unmerited harshness. The dread summons had gone forth, against which there is no appeal. Even the arrival of Lord Albemarle from Holland, with important intelligence on affairs of deep interest to him, could no longer rouse his departing spirit:—“*je tire vers ma fin*,” was the only languid reply.

It is no fair ground of censure against William to say, that he loved Holland exclusively. It was the country of his birth and inheritance; and where is the law that condemns a man for being a patriot? Certain it was, he had no love for England, except as a possession, and a means of his own aggrandizement. Nor is it just to say, that he was altogether a foreigner: for his mother was an English Princess. The real blot on his character is, that, being a nephew and son-in-law of James, he deliberately violated his word, and disregarded the ties of kindred, in the pursuit of his ambition.

As a brave warrior, and a sagacious statesman, his claims to high repute are unquestionable, though in the complex politics of England he was often-times wavering and undecided. The liberties secured to us by his accession cannot be too highly prized: but they were not his grant. The BILL OF RIGHTS was a noble triumph, gained by our ancestors of that day: to them we must ascribe the honour of its achievement. It is a lasting monument to their memory, and to the wisdom which exacted it, as the stipulated price of the Crown,—then in their power to bestow. It remains for historians to justify, as best they may,

his willingness, in the latter part of his reign, to recognize the claims of James's son (whose birth he had before stigmatized) in preference to those of Anne, who had yielded to him her prior title to the throne, on the faith of his pledge, and justice. But for that voluntary cession, he would probably have ceased to be King, after the death of Mary. The consternation, and heartfelt grief, occasioned by the death of William, throughout Holland, and the undisguised joy of the French, bore equal testimony to the high sense entertained of his talents by friends and foes. He raised his native country to a dignity it had never reached under any former Prince; and England owed to him the honour of having curbed the exorbitant ambition of Louis.

The accession of Anne revived the hopes of the Non-jurors, who had been occasionally treated with great harshness in the time of William; and they now expected that the rigorous measures against them would be relaxed under a more gentle sway. Anne, too, was supposed to entertain favourable dispositions towards the future pretensions of the young Prince, her half brother.* The Non-jurors, therefore, began to look out of their quiet nooks, to see what this gleam of sunshine might promise. The intercourse between Lloyd and Ken had slackened, because that

* The Act for abjuring the Prince of Wales was passed after the keenest opposition, and called forth Protests from ten Peers, of whom Lord Weymouth was one. It does not appear that this measure of the expiring King was used afterwards as an instrument to oppress the quiet Non-jurors. See Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, 1758, vol. iii. pp. 502-3.

entire community of opinion and sentiment, which was essential to the maintenance of an active correspondence, no longer existed between them. Moreover, the jealousy of the Government made the interchange of letters precarious, if not fraught with danger. After their papers had been seized by the Privy Council, they were more cautious. Lloyd, living at Hammer-smith, had his letters directed "For Mrs. Hannah Lloyd, at Mr. Harabin's house, a grocer over against So-mers-et House;" and Ken, on a visit to his nephew, at Poulshot, received his letters through the circuitous medium of "Mr. William Jones, at Canon Walton's House, in the Close in Sarum."

The Non-jurors resolved to meet once more, and consider what might be done for the cause. Lloyd, Ken, and Frampton alone remained of the deprived Bishops. But Frampton was old, and happy in a perfect retirement and preparation for death. Three years before this, Ken had transmitted to him, through Lloyd, a mourning ring, as a memento of their mutual friend, Dr. Fitzwilliam, which he thus acknowledged;

"Right Reverend Father in God,

"Jul; 11.

"This comes humbly, and with great respect, to thank your good Lord^{sh} for y^e kind letter you were pleased to send me, as also to acknowledge my receipt of y^e ring in memory of Dr. Fitzwilliams, wth our good brother of Bath and Wells desired your Lord^{sh} to transmit to me.

"Y^e ring, to be sure, shall be preserved with care, out of y^e reverence y^e I beare and owe both to y^e living and y^e dead. But it is not likely to stay long with me, because I am not likely to stay long with it: hasting amaine, as I doe, towards my exit out of this world, for wth God be prayd.

" By His gracious assistance I hope to keep steddy to my principles to y^e very last gaspe. Be pleased to assist me by your pious prayers, y^t soe it may be, and all is well. Mine age is great, almost fourescore; mine infirmities are many, and every day encreasing, w^{ch} by y^e helpe of meditation perpetually mind me, y^t it is not good for me to be any longer here, where I am noe longer able to doe good to others.

" With my syncerest respects to your good selfe: to our good Brother of Bath and Wells, and to my Lord of London, a most dear friend of mine, I remaine,

" Y^r Lordp's.

" Much obliged Friend and Servant,

" ROBERT FRAMPTON, *Glouster heretofore.**

" These

To y^e Right Reverend Father in God,

William Lord Bp. of Norwich;

by the hands of Mr. Thos. Gregory."

Frampton, therefore, was not expected to join in any measures: but Ken, nearer at hand, and fifteen years younger, might be supposed to retain more of the vigour of opposition, if he were inclined to exercise it. Accordingly, his friend Lloyd opened a preparatory negotiation, by the following letter;

" TO THE LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

" March 16th, 1704.

" My Lord,

" Though your Lordship hath withdrawn correspondence with me for some years passed, and also that brotherly affection, which you vouchsafed me heretofore, yet I cannot forbear giving you this interruption *in this nice conjunction of affairs, because your presence and counsel seem to be very necessary to us upon the fact of the late emergency, viz. the decease of*

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

K. W. Therefore I make bold to pray and intreat you to come up to our comfort and assistance as soon as conveniently you can. This, my Lord, is the earnest request of such of our brethren as I have seen and conferred withall, as well as of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s affect: fr. and B’,

“ W^M. N.”

It does not appear what were the plans then formed by the Non-jurors. But Ken, long since weary of the contests of party, and having endeavoured in vain to bring them to reason, knew perfectly well, that as long as the hot spirits of Hickes, Wagstaffe, and others influenced all their counsels, there was no hope of peace; and he resolved to be quiet. His answer, therefore, was—

“ For Mrs. Hannah Lloyd, at Mr. Harabin’s house, a grocer over against Somerfett-House.

“ March 29, 1702.

“ Your’s of Mar: 16th, came not to my hands till y^e 26th, after the post was gone, so y^t I was forced to deferre my answer, till this next post day. I have discours’d with y^e person you mention, and he replied to this purpose. He said y^t he remembers not y^t he withdrew correspondence from you designedly, and y^t you as much withdrew your’s from him; or rather it was dropp’d between you boeth, because there was nothing to maintaine it worth y^e postage. As for Brotherly affection, he denys y^t it was ever withdrawne on his part. He ownes y^t he in some things alwayes dissented from his friend, but without breach of friendship. He says he cannot imagine, y^t his counsel and assistance can be worth a London journey, w^{ch} is consistent neither with his purse, nor convenience, nor health, nor inclination. As to the present emergency, it may, he believes, give a fair occasion to many to alter their Conduct—but it does not at all influ-

ence him. He has quite given over all thoughts of re-entering y^e world, and nothing shall tempt him to any Oath, onely he heartily wishes y^t by those who know y^e towne, some expedient might be found out, to putt a period to the Schism w^{ch} is so very vexatious to persons of tender Consciences, who live scatter'd in the Country. In any thing of y^t nature, he would gladly concur: He thinks it had been happy for y^e Church, had Mr. Kettlewell's state of y^e Cafe been embrac'd. In the mean time, he never uses any Characteristick in the prayers, himselfe, nor is present where any is us'd, and he has endeavour'd to act uniformly to y^e moderate sentiments w^{ch} he cannot exceed. He sends his hearty respects to yourself, and family, and to all his, and your friends.

"Your very affect^d Friend and Brother,

"T. B. & W.*

"(P.S.) I shall leave this place next week, and goe to Sarum, God willing, on purpose to communicate with Dr. Beech. If you write to me next Thursday, or Saturday post, direct to Mr. William Jones, at Mr. Walton's house in y^e Close in Salisbury. Before I seal'd my letter, your Friend told me y^t he was inform'd y^t y^e non-Jur^t: pray'd for Q. A. by name; He much desires to know y^e truth of it."

And a few days later he writes again;

"FOR THE SAME.

"Sarum, Ap: 7, 1702.

"I RECEIVED your's, My good Friend, and am glad it gave you any satisfaction w^{ch} I wrote to you. A Friend of late has been much dissatisfy'd with me, because I will not give up myselfe to his keeping, w^{ch} I have no reason to do, and he probably may raise jealousys of me. When I told you y^t

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters, endorsed in Lloyd's hand, "Mr. Th. Wells 29 Mar. 1702, and my letter in it, a copy of it, to invite him to London."

a London journey was not agreeable to my purse, it was no pretence, but a reall trueth. I am not able to support y^e expence of it, wth all y^t know my Condition will easily believe. I thank God, I have enough to bring y^e yeare about, while I remaine in the country, and y^t is as much as I desire. I have been often offer'd mony for myselfe, but alwayes refus'd it, and never take any but for to distribute, and in y^e country I have nothing now for y^t good use putt into my hands. As for y^e Schism, I believe I can propose a way to end it, but it is not practicable till y^e Convocation meets, and then if y^e face of affaires alter not, I make no question but Erastianisme will be condemn'd, wth by some of us has been propos'd as a meanes of reunion. My respects to your fire-side. God keep us in His holy feare.

“ Your's very affectionately.*

“ To-morrow I return, God willing, to Hampshire, for a short time.”

The first bishoprick that fell vacant, after the accession of Anne, was that of Carlisle. Lord Weymouth, who was of the Queen's Privy Council,† at once made interest for restoring his friend Ken to Bath and Wells, by the translation of Kidder to Carlisle. Kidder consented to this through the Archbishop of York: but

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters, endorsed B. & W., 7 Apl. These three last letters are in Dr. Williams's Collection, and also in the Prose Works of Ken, by Round, pp. 55, 56, 57.

† In a subsequent letter to Lloyd, Ken says, “ I shall spend this summer (1703), God willing, most at Longleat, though I am now very uneasy there; not but that my Lord is very kind to me, but because I cannot go to the prayers there, by reason of the late alterations, which is no small affliction to me.” So long as William and James II. were alive, Weymouth did not have prayers for the former in the Chapel at Longleat; but he took office on the accession of Anne, and of course prayed for her: but Ken held an unshaken allegiance to the young Prince.

when it was proposed to Ken, he declined. The statement is that he objected to the Oath of Abjuration.* But independently of this, he had resolved not to return to public life.

There are three interesting letters from Ken to Lloyd, in the summer of 1703, which show a return of friendly confidence, and a similarity of opinions on the sad effects of the Schism. Ken expresses his great satisfaction, that without consulting one another they were both of the same mind;—he concurred with “good Mr. Kettlewell’s book,”—and “our brother of Ely, now with God, was of the same mind,”—“I was never for extremities, which I soon thought would prove of fatal consequences, but I find that others, who always were, and still are for them, think hardly of me, *and probably they may think as hardly of your Lordship.*” If Lloyd could have exercised his own unbiassed judgment, he would probably have accepted Ken’s proposal of healing the breach, by a voluntary cession of their canonical rights: but he had so committed himself by the clandestine consecrations, that he could not separate himself from Hickes and Wagstaffe. Therefore nothing effectual came of this renewed correspondence.

The next vacancy was St. Asaph. Anne evinced at once her judgment, and her love of the Church, by selecting Ken’s old friend, Dr. Hooper, already Dean of Canterbury. He had not been one of those who followed upon the nimble heels of Burnet, when he

* Lansdown MSS., vol. v. p. 987. Dr. William Nicolson was consecrated to Carlisle, the 14th June, 1702.

hurried from the death-bed of his friend and patron, King William, to congratulate his successor. This bluff and busy prelate says of Hooper, that "he was reserved, crafty and ambitious: his Deanery had not softened him, for he thought he deserved to be raised higher." This is one of the many flippant and prejudiced characters to be found every where in Burnet's History: change the word "reserved" into overbearing, and he has rather drawn his own true likeness than Hooper's. *Reserved*—Burnet certainly was not; for he had no reserves with any one person, or thing that stood in the way of his pursuit. His History of his own Time abounds in skilful touches of events and characters, grouped together with a sort of natural and ready force that defies the trammels of careful arrangement, or laborious investigation. But his work is sometimes defaced by a want of conscientious truthfulness, the highest and rarest quality in a contemporary historian; yet no one can deny the superior powers of his mind. However much the spirit of a partizan has tainted his writings, and sullied his character as a legislator, we must not forget his admirable discharge of the episcopal functions.

A more affable and unselfish man never lived than Bishop Hooper. If he was ambitious, he had through life taken a strange and unlikely path to bring himself to dignity. He never paid court to William to soften his prejudices against him: on the contrary, when the King

"Gave orders to the Chaplains who preached before her Royal Highness, the Princess Anne, not to make their accustomed bows to her at their going into the pulpit, or

rather before they began their sermon, which that Princess (who was remarkably civil, and yet never stooping too much from her high dignity) always used to return to the preacher, neither were they allowed to send her the text. Dr. Hooper did not think any commands whatever sufficient to excuse him from paying her the honour due to her, and constantly did both, whenever his turn came." *

"Just after the death of Archbishop Tillotson, a lady who came into Queen Mary's apartment, told her Majesty that she believed there was all the dignified clergy in town come to Court that day to show themselves. The Queen immediately reply'd, that she was sure she knew one that was not there, and that was the Dean of Canterbury [Dr. Hooper]. Some of the company not seeming to think any was missing on that occasion, a lady who knew the Dean was sent out to see, and upon her return saying he was not there, 'No,' says the Queen, 'I was sure he was not there, I can answer for him,' or words to that effect. This the Dean was told by a great lady who was there attending the Queen." †

Ken rejoiced at Hooper's elevation.‡ He thus expresses himself to Lloyd,

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"Oct. 30, 1703.

"My very good Lord,

"Your Lordship's of the 26th, found me at Longleat on the 28th, which I left the next day, my Lord Weymouth removing to the town, and am now at Poulshot. I am extremely glad that you and the Bishop elect of St. Asaph conversed together. He is one of the best understandings I ever knew, and if he will exert himself will do excellent service to this sinking Church. I should think it one of the best excursions I could make to give you both a visit, but besides my

* MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† Ibid.

‡ Hooper was consecrated to St. Asaph, Oct. 31, 1703.

aversion to the town, I am afflicted with such pains, that I am by no means fit for travelling—they are rheumatic, and lie within my joints, and never come to the extreme parts, and at this present, my left arm is in a great measure disabled. I have a great desire to spend Christmas, God willing, with the Kemeyses, but fear I shall not be in a condition to do it. I am much concerned, that the friend is not yet consecrated, and cannot imagine the reason of the delay. What you write of the Scotch I easily believe, and had thought that their quarrel about Episcopacy had been over. Since that, to my great surprise, passed the Confirmation of Presbytery. It will be a great satisfaction to me, to hear now and then from you. God keep us, in His holy feare.

“ My good dear Lord,

“ Your Lords^m most affectionate Br,

“ T. B. & W.*

“ I shall be glad to see the work you mention.”

And again,

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ Nov. 13, 1703.

“ My dear Brother,

“ Though I received both your Lordship's, yet having wrote the same post your last came, I forbore to give you a second trouble, having but little matter for a letter in this place where I am. You have a very true apprehension of your brother of St. Asaph. He is of an excellent temper as well as understanding, & a man of sincerity though he may be of a different judgment; & I much desire that you may often meet, & consult how to moderate things, as much as may be, *salvâ veritate*, for I fear that many of our friends run too high, and that the Church of Rome will reap advantages of excesses in that kind. Your letters are a great consolation to me in this solitude, & therefore I intreat the continuance

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 61.

of them. Mr. Dodwell's Book has been sent me, I presume, by himself. *He seems to build high on feeble foundations.* I presume he will not have many entire proselytes to all his hypotheses.* My respects to the good company with you; God keep us in His holy fear. My good Lord,

"Your Lordship's most affect. Friend & Brother,
THO. B. & W." †

Before a month had elapsed from Hooper's consecration to St. Asaph, an awful catastrophe happened to Bishop Kidder, which changed the whole current of Ken's thoughts, and interrupted the even tenour of his retired life. He was now to make a most important step towards the healing of the breach, which had so long afflicted his thoughts, and although his path lay through much personal obloquy, detraction, and even violence of abuse, it led him to the purest satisfaction imaginable;—for it enabled him to decline his own re-appointment, and to yield up

* This refers to Henry Dodwell's Book "On the Immortality of the Soul, 4°. 1703." The few words of Ken are full of meaning: he could not approve of the theory it laid down, which gave rise to great controversy, and did not add to Dodwell's reputation. He afforded another example, which all ages so frequently present to us, of the futility of man's reasoning powers, when he perplexes himself with attempts to anatomize those recondite and ineffable mysteries, which are beyond the range of words to convey to the minds of other men, even if we can make them intelligible to ourselves. In order to establish the high pretensions of the priesthood, of which he was the most learned champion of his day, he published "An Epistolary Discourse, proving from the Scriptures, and the First Fathers, that *the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal*; but immortalized actually, by the Pleasure of God, to Punishment, or to Reward, by it's Union with the *Divine Baptismal Spirit*. Wherein is proved that none have the Power of giving this Divine Immortalizing Spirit, since the Apostles, but only the Bishops:" this work created almost as much controversy as Dr. William Sherlock's heretical "Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity," some years previous.

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 62.

his canonical rights to a successor, whom of all others he could most entirely trust with the guardianship of his See.

On the night of the 26th of Nov. 1703, the greater part of England was visited by one of the most violent and destructive tempests on record. Daniel De Foe published an account of this "STORM," in which it is estimated that the damage amounted to four millions sterling: he says "the loss is universal, and its extent general: not a house, not a family that had anything to lose, but have lost something; the sea, the land, the houses, the churches, the corn, the trees, the rivers, all have felt the fury of the winds. In the New Forest in Hampshire above 4000 trees, some of prodigious thickness, were blown down: and above 450 parks and groves lost from 200 to 1000 trees each. Twelve ships of the navy were totally wrecked: the Eddystone light-house was destroyed, and the people within perished. It is impossible to describe the general calamity. About 8000 persons were supposed to have perished."*

In the midst of this scene of desolation many persons had providential escapes: amongst others Bishop Ken. He was staying with his nephew, Isaac Walton, Junior, at Poulshot. Writing to Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, he thus describes his danger;

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"Nov. 27th [1703].

"My good Lord and dear Brother,

"I return you my thanks for both yours. I have no

* The STORM, by Daniel De Foe; London, 1704, 8vo, pp. 155, 156, 222, 223.

news to return, but that last night there was here the most violent wind that ever I knew; the house shook all the night; we all rose, and called the family to prayers, and by the goodness of God we were safe amidst the Storm. It has done a great deal of hurt in the neighbourhood, and all about, which we cannot yet hear of; but I fear it has been very terrible at sea, and that we shall hear of many wrecks there. Blessed be God who preserved us. I hope that your Lordship and your family have suffered no harm, and should be glad to hear you are well. I beseech God to keep us in His holy fear.

“ Your Lordship’s
Most affectionate Friend and Brother,
“ THO. B. & W.” *

In another letter he says,

“ I think I omitted to tell you y^e full of my deliverance in y^e late storm, for the house being search’d y^e day following, y^e workmen found y^e y^e beame w^{ch} supported y^e roof over my head was shaken out to y^e degree, y^e it had but halfe an inch hold, so y^e it was a wonder it could hold together; for w^{ch} signal and particular preservation God’s holy name be ever praised! I am sure I ought alwayes thankfully to remember it. God keep us in His holy fear.

“ Your Lordship’s
Most affeⁿ Friend and B^r
“ T. B. & W.” †

This merciful preservation was the more remarkable, when contrasted with the fatal end of Bishop Kidder, who had succeeded him in his diocese. Ken writes, two days after, to Bishop Lloyd,

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.
“ Nov. 29, 1703.

“ My good Lord & Brother,
“ I think I told you in my last, that I intended, God wil-

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 63.

† Ibid. p. 67.

ling, to spend the Christmas with the good virgins at Nash; so that after Saturday next, your Lordship must direct nothing hither. The storm on Friday night, which was the most violent, I mentioned in my last, but I then did not know what happened at Wells, which was much shattered, and that part of the palace where Bishop Kidder and his wife lay, was blown down in the night, and they were both killed and buried in the ruins, and dug out towards morning. It happened on the very day of the Cloth fair, when all the country were spectators of the deplorable calamity, and soon spread the sad story. God of His infinite mercy deliver us from such dreadful surprises! I am assured that no one either in the palace, or in the whole town, beside them, had any hurt. God keep us in His holy fear, and our dwellings in safety.

“My good Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most affect: Friend & B^r,

“THO. B. & W.”*

This awful catastrophe awakened his devout thankfulness for his own safety; “blessed be God, who preserved us in the late great storm; it is a deliverance not to be forgotten.”† He could not but feel for the “deplorable calamity, and dreadful surprise,” which plunged Kidder’s family in the deepest distress,—

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 64.

† “A public Fast was appointed upon this account, and observed religiously.” *Calamy’s Own Life*, vol. ii. p. 30. Whiston, in his *Memoirs*, observes, “What makes me mention it [the storm] here is this, that the public had then so extraordinary a Collect of Praise and Thanksgiving sent about, when Dr. Tenison was Archbishop, to be used for some time afterwards, with the most moving expressions of the deepest sense of the Divine attributes, proper for such an occasion, that I ever remember in any modern, I had almost said, or even antient composition whatsoever. * * * It is a very valuable monument of the piety of our Church-Governors at that time, and a pattern for our Governors hereafter.” *Whiston’s Memoirs*, p. 132. He has preserved the Form of Prayer, at p. 409.

although his expressions of sorrow are less warm than we might have expected from his usual tenderness. No doubt he had too much reason to lament the Latitudinarian government of the diocese under his successor; yet, we might have been better pleased had he evinced a more magnanimous and deep sympathy on this overwhelming misfortune. But then, we are to remember that his whole affections were rivetted on the Church, and as he could entertain no respect for Kidder on public grounds, he regarded the visitation with more of awe, than of compassion. One of De Foe's correspondents says, "the dismal accident of our late Bishop and Lady was most remarkable, who was killed by the fall of two chimney-stacks, which fell on the roof, and drove it in upon my Lord's bed, forced it quite through the next floor, down into the hall, and buried them both in the rubbish: and 'tis supposed my Lord was getting up, for he was found some distance from my Lady, who was found in her bed; but my Lord had his morning gown on, so that 'tis supposed he was coming from the bed just as it fell." *

No sooner was the death of Kidder known at Court, than several persons solicited the appointment to the See of Bath and Wells: but

"The Queen sent for Dr. Hooper, the new Bishop of St. Asaph, told him the sad accident, and that she meant the Bishopric for him. He expressed his thanks to her Majesty, but begged to be excused, as he could by no means eat the bread of so old a friend as Bishop Ken had been to him, and entreated her Majesty's leave to propose to her the restoring him to his Bishopric again. *This the Queen highly approved*

* The Storm, by Daniel Defoe, p. 94.

of, and thanked the Bishop for putting her in mind of it, and ordered him to propose it to Bishop Ken."*

This is another refutation of Burnet's unjust character of Hooper,† as "ambitious, whose Deanery had not softened him." It may be added here, that at a later period, when Compton died, he was offered the Bishopric of London, and afterwards the Primacy of York, on the decease of Archbishop Sharp; but he declined them both.‡ He was, indeed, a man, combining in no ordinary degree many admirable qualities, which secured the love and respect of mankind, and made him truly deserving of the friendship of Ken: and it is, if not a reproach, at least strange, that the

* MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† The secret of Burnet's great dislike of Hooper will be found in Lathbury's History of Convocation. Hooper was Prolocutor of the Lower House, which, in 1701, passed a strong censure against Burnet's "*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*," in which censure Hooper fully concurred, and it was his duty to present it to the Upper House. This "*Representation*" made three specific complaints against the work:

"1. That the said book tends to introduce such a latitude and diversity of opinions, as the Articles were framed to avoid.

"2. That there are many passages in the *Exposition* of the several Articles, which appear to us to be contrary to the true meaning of them, and to other received doctrines of our Church.

"3. That there are some things in the said book, which seem to us to be of dangerous consequence to the Church of England, as by law established, and to derogate from the honour of its Reformation.

"All which particulars we humbly lay before your Lordships, praying your opinion herein."

Lathbury's History of the Convocation of the Church of England. 2nd edit. p. 355. Thus Burnet's religious doctrines were censured by the main body of the Clergy of England, as his political creed had been previously condemned by the Parliament of his friend William, which had ordered his sermon to be burnt by the common hangman, for asserting, that William's title to the Crown was founded on the right of conquest.

‡ MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

Church, which he so adorned in his lifetime, has not embalmed his memory in a biography worthy of his virtues. He, who with Beveridge, asserted the cause of the Scottish Episcopate with intrepid, though unsuccessful, zeal, at the Union of the two Kingdoms, has been too much disregarded by posterity. Nevertheless, while living, he was admired and revered within his own fold: and even the erratic, and Bishop-hating Whiston, whom he had felt it his duty to repel from the Holy Communion, praises his learning and moderation. *

And now there arose an amicable contest between the two tried friends, each desiring the other to take the See of Bath and Wells. Hooper knew what a healing of the Schism it would be, if the Bishopric were restored to its rightful possessor: but Ken could never be induced to take the Oaths: besides, the sense of his infirmities having long since determined him to remain in privacy, he “desired only to see the flock in good hands, and he knew none better, to whom he might entrust it than Hooper’s.”† He received the Queen’s offer “with great acknowledgements,” and desired Bishop Hooper to “return his most grateful thanks for her gracious remembrance of him; but that he could not return into the business of the world again, but would ever beseech God to accumulate the blessings of both upon her.”‡ In the same letter he expressed his great satisfaction at the offer Bishop Hooper had, and “how freely he would

* Whiston’s Memoirs, pp. 229, 334-5.

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 65.

‡ MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

reign all title to the Bishopric to him, and how much he rejoiced, that his strayed sheep would be reduced [brought back] under his government."*

Hooper being averse to so sudden a removal from St. Asaph, to which he was only just appointed, "Bishop Ken sent him a letter, full of those primitive strains, which were in all his writings, in which he charged him, as he would answer it at the great day, to take the charge of his flock, with more to the same purpose; and the Queen at the same time insisting on his taking it, he was forced to comply."† The following letters are very interesting, as they present to us an exact picture of Ken's mind at this eventful epoch;

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

"Dec. 6, [1703.]

"I am informed y^t you have an offer of Bath and Wells, and that you refused it, w^{ch} I take very kindly, because I know you did it on my account; but since I am well assured y^t y^e Diocese cannot be happy to y^t degree in any other hands than in your owne, I DESIRE YOU TO ACCEPT OF IT, and I know y^t you have a prevailing interest to procure it. I told you long agoe at Bath how willing I was to surrender my canonically claime to a worthy person, but to none *more willingly* than to yourselfe. My distemper disables me from y^e pastoral duty, and had I been restored, I declared allways y^t I would shake off y^e burthen, and retire. I am about to leave this place, but if need be, the Archdeacon can tell you how to direct to me. My best respects to your good family.

"God keepe us in His holy feare.

"My good Lord, your Lordshippe's most affectionately,

"T. B. AND W."‡

* MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† Ibid.; and Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 256.

‡ Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 65.

By the same post Ken wrote to Lloyd,

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

" Dec. 6, 1703.

" My very good Lord and Brother,

" Blessed be God who preserved us both in the late great storm; it is a deliverance not to be forgotten. I hear of several persons who solicit for my Diocese, and whom I know not, and I am informed that it is offered to my old friend, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and that it is declined by him. For my own part, if times should have changed, I never intended to return to my burden, but I much desire to see the flock in good hands, and I know none better to whom I may entrust it than his: for which reason I write to him this post, to let him know my desire that he should succeed, with which I thought good to acquaint your Lordship. I leave this place, God willing, on Wednesday, hoping to reach Bath, which is but twelve miles, and to stay a night or two with Colonel Philips. My best respects to all the good family with you; God keep us in His holy feare.

" Your Lordship's most affect. B^r,

" THO. B. & W."*

And again a few days later,

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

" Nash, Dec. 18, 1703.

" My good L^d and B^r,

* * * * *

" I, hearing y^t y^e B^p of St. Asaph was offered Bath and Wells, and y^t on my account he *refused* it, wrott to him to accept of it. I did it in charity to y^e Diocese, y^t they might not have a Latitudinarian Traditour imposed on them, who would betray y^e baptismall faith, but one who had ability and zeal to assert it; and the imminent danger in which religion now is, and which daily increases, ought to supersede all y^e

antient canons. I am so difabled by rheumatick and colick pains, y^t I cannot in confcience returne to a publick ftation, were I reftored; and I think none ought to censure me, if in fuch perillous times I defire a coadjutor, for w^h I have good precedents, as well as reafons. It is not y^e *firft time* I diffented from fome of my brethren; and never faw caufe to repent of it. The ladys here fend you their duty. God keep us in His holy feare.

“Your Lordship’s moft affec^t Friend and Br,

“T. B. & W.”*

Hooper, feeing no alternative, yielded his acquiefcence, at which Ken cordially rejoiced, and thus wrote;

“The Right Rev. Father in God, George Lord
Bifhop of Afaph.

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“Dec. 20, 1703.

“My very good Lord,

“The laft poft brought me y^e news w^h I earneftly expected, and w^h your lordshippe’s letter gave me hope of, and I heartily congratulate y^e diocefe of Bath and Wells of your tranflation, for it was y^e good of y^e flock, and not my friendfhippe for yourfelf, w^h made me defire to fee you in y^e pastorall chaire, where I know you will zealoufly ‘*contend for y^e faith once delivered to y^e fainted*,’ which in thefe *latitudinarian times* is in great danger to be loft. I could eafily forfee, y^t by my concerne for you I fhould incurre y^e difpleafure of fome of my brethren, but this is not y^e firft instance in w^h I have diffented from them, and never had caufe to repent of it; and the good of y^e Diocefe supercedes all other confiderations.

* * * *

“God keepe us in His holy feare,

“My good Lord,

“Your Lordshippe’s moft affectionately,

“T. K.”†

* Profe Works of Ken, by Round, p. 67.

† Ibid.

He received a letter from Lloyd of Norwich, to congratulate him on the choice made of Hooper, which he accepted as an approval of his Cession, though Lloyd afterwards denied, that one was intended to imply the other. Ken writes,

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“Dec. 27, 1703.

“My good Lord and B^r,

“I am in debt to you for the last post. It is no small satisfaction to me, that you approve of my choice in good earnest. I had such experience of one before, who, instead of keeping the flock within the fold, encouraged them to stray—that I was afraid of a traditour, and in such a time as this, thought I could not do a greater kindness to the Diocese, than in procuring it one of the most valuable men in the Church, and one who was so very able to defend the Depositum, which seemes to me to be in the utmost danger. The good ladys* here present their best respects to your Lordship; and begge your blessing. I beseech God to send you and yours a happy new year, and to keep us in His reverential love.

“Your Lordship’s most affect: Friend & B^r,

“T. K.”†

Being thus able to satisfy his conscience by a voluntary Cession of his trust into such hands, he could make a decisive step towards healing the Schism, for which alone he now desired to live. The original contest, and separation, had arisen from the forcible invasion of his rights:—then he could not yield; but after an interval of fourteen years, the breach might be repaired, and peace restored to the Church. He could

* The Miss Kemeyfes of Nash.

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 80.

now call upon his flock to submit heartily to the spiritual jurisdiction of their new Bishop. All who loved the Church, and prayed for her integrity, would be thankful, and he himself restored to her communion, from which, out of conscientious scruples, he had been compelled to absent himself. He thus expresses to Lloyd his own satisfaction, and that of the Diocese, at Hooper's appointment :

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"Feb. 21, 1703.

"My very good Lord & Brother,

"Though I have nothing worthy of the postage, yet I thought myself obliged to give your Lordship an account of my motions: I am now at Sarum, where I have been detained by a lame horse, but hope to be gone, God willing, to-morrow, and to be at Nash on Saturday, or Monday, there to spend my Lent. You cannot imagine the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my See; and I make no doubt but that he will rescue the Diocese from the apostacy from 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' which at present threatens us, and from the spirit of Latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable, and I am not a little satisfied, that I have made the best provision for the flock, which was possible, in our present circumstances. God keep us in His holy fear.

"Your Lordship's most affec^t Friend and B^r,

"T. K."*

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 81.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ken censured by many of the Non-jurors for his resignation of the Bishopric—Difference between himself and Lloyd—Queen Anne grants him a pension.



KEN'S anticipations, that by resigning his Bishopric he would incur the displeasure of the Non-jurors, were too truly verified: for notwithstanding the spirit of love, and moderation which prompted him to this act, the Jacobites were loud in their condemnation of him. To close the separation at a moment like this, when hopes of restoring the Stuart line began to dawn upon them, was, in their view, a desertion of the cause of truth, and a schismatical defection. These complaints could not divert him from his purpose: he had never been a partizan: his love for the Church, and a sense of her present wants, sustained him in the conflict now forced upon him. It appears that Lloyd, in answer to Ken's letters, about yielding up his rights to Hooper, advised him not to quit his charge, till there could be a meeting, and a consultation, lest any thing might be done to hurt the Church, or wound the minds of the brethren. But Queen Anne would not have waited their leisure: had Hooper paused in his acceptance of the Bishopric, another must have been

appointed, to whom, most probably, Ken could not conscientiously have resigned his office.

The violence of the party at this open abandonment of them, is thus described by Ken himself, writing to Lloyd ;

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ March 7th, 1701.

“ My good Lord and dear B^r,

“ Your last came to me yesterday in the morning, blessed be God, who has given you ease, and sanctified your affliction to you. All here, send most kind remembrances to your Lordshippe, and to their good friends with you, to which I add my owne. The Jacobites at Bristoll, fomented by those at London, are thoroughly enraged against me for my Cession to one, whom all mankind besides themselves, have a high esteem of, and one most able and willing to preserve the *Depositum*, and under whose care I assure myself that the Diocese will be secured from the Latitudinarian Contagion. Our B^r of Gl: [Gloucester] is doing the same thing, having surrendered his cure of souls at Standish, to his curate, who I presume is by this time possessed of it. *But the same persons, who inveigh against me, take no notice of him.* I am threatened with something to be printed against me : I believe they had better let me alone. If I should produce the frequent letters, a certaine person [Dr. George Hickes] wrote to me, for near two yeares together, to importune me to consent to *Clandestine C.* [Consecrations] they would discover the temper of the man, and the zeal he shewed to make the Schism incurable,* which I was always for moderating, foreseeing how

* Above ten years before this, we have a specimen of Hickes's intolerant treatment of all who came short of his own measure of Non-juring zeal. He complains in a letter to Lloyd of Norwich, dated 28th Nov., 1692, that two of the party were falling away, seeming no longer to think soberly. The fault of one of them was “the easiness of his nature” in going among the Swearers, and then “*not to give them a*

fatall it would prove. *As long as I have your approbation, and the example of our other Br, I have little regard for the passion of others ; I thank God that I have reposed the flock in safe hands, which is a great ease to me, and I have preserved them from a wolfe, that might have invaded them. All who condemn me, owne that Death legitimates an intruder, and I know no reason, but that voluntary Cession, and that for the apparent preservation of the whole flock, to one who will not intrude, may be as effectuell as death.*

" God keepe us in His holy feare.

" My good Lord,

" Your Lordshipp's most affect: Friend and Br,

" T. B. & W."*

To which Lloyd replies,

" FOR BISHOP KEN.

" March 14, 1704.

" My good Lord and Deare Brother.

" I have your dispatch of the 7th current now before me. I must own the obligations your Lordship and the good ladyes att Nash have layd upon me, for your good wishes to me and my family. I was sensibly grieved, (when I read your letter) for the noyse and outcries, made both at Bristoll, and here above, upon the account of your Cession. How a sudden passion may carry and transport some men at Bristoll I know not; but I am sure I have not heard any of the brethren here, say anything disrespectfull of your person, or your character, unlesse what amounts to no more than this, viz. that they seemed offended, because your conduct in and about the Cession, was not managed *communi consensu*. To

good rattle." "I met him," says he, "by chance, at Lady Yarborough's, and was so cold to him, that he took notice of it with trouble." He adds, in a Postscript, "*Dr. Ken can wbeedle in perfection, and will make his advantage of them.*" Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 68.

obviate this objection, I took the freedom to write unto you, and to desire you, not to quit your charge, until we might, (for our mutuall satisfaction) meet, and consult upon that weighty case, lest we should doe anything that might hurt the Church, or wound the minds of our brethren. To this, you were pleased to inform me, that your Lordship was fully satisfied in the meritts of the person, that was to succeed you, and named the reverend Dr. Hooper. *I was apprised of his piety, learning and good temper, and if my approbation would have signified anything I did then say, and doe now say the same, viz. in my poore opinion you could not have desired, or wished for a worthier or fitter person for your successor, and thereupon wished, that a double portion of his predecessor's spirit might rest on him.* Thus, my Lord, I have plainly laid before your Lordship, all the account I know of, relating to this matter, both to satisfy your Lordship of what I am apprised of, and to prevent (if possible) the groundlesse surmises of those, who are apt to take fire without due materials. With all respects and service to your Lordship, and to the good ladies att Nash,

“ I remain your Lordship's

“ Affectionate Brother, and humble Servant,

“ W^m. NOR.”*

Ken writes once more :

“ FOR MRS. HANNAH LLOYD.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ March 20th, 1704

“ My good Lord and dear Brother,

“ Among other things which are vehemently laid to my charge, one is, that against your advice, and entreaties, I would obstinately go my own way ; against this, I owne, that you had wrote to me to deferre my Cession, *but that the nature of the thing would not permit it, and if I had not given*

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 70.

my consent that post, I might have had a Hireling and not a Shepherd, and I wrott to you to that purpose, and that after I had receded, your Lordship approved of what I had done, and that *I had by me your letters, which congratulated my choice, to attest it;* and that in your last, you seem to lay to heart the danger in which the Depositum is, as much as myself, and which was the sole motive which inclined me, and *you expresse your sense of the hardnesse of the Work to stem the strong current which runns against the Church,* in which you have the concurrent testimonies of all sober men. Sure I am, if people will duly weigh all circumstances, no well-minded man can blame me. I am told from London, that 'tis urged that by my action I condemn their conduct, but how I know not:—if any of them had a Cure of Souls, and could transfer it, into like hands, as I have done, I should exhort them to recede, as well as myself, for the common good of the flock, without making a bargaine with the successor for a pension, as I fear some have done who blame me. The Ladys here are, God be thanked, very well, and present their respects to yourself and family. God keep us in His Holy feare and prepare us for a happy eternity.

“ My dear L^d,

“ Your Lordship's most affectionate Brother,

“ T. B. & W.”*

Though he might have anticipated censure, he was hardly prepared for so great a ferment as was springing up against him among the Jacobites, at losing a support they could least of all dispense with. Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, had already surrendered his cure of souls:—but as he was not so eminent, and his example not so conspicuous, they took no notice of him.† To have their separate communion aban-

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 73.

† Ibid. p. 69.

doned by Bishop Ken, so loved and venerated throughout the kingdom, who of all other men seemed to sanctify their cause, was an advantage to their enemies that filled them with dismay. Mr. Round records a letter,* evidently from Bristol, but without date or signature, which is a valuable addition to the few particulars we have of the opinions then prevalent with the extreme party. The writer says,

“ Sir,

“ On this day seven night, I received your kind letter, in which the melancholy account of Bp. Ken added to the affliction of the day. I had too great reason to believe all you say of him, before yours came to me, but I was willing (if the history were undoubtedly true) to have it from so good and authentic a hand. When I saw him before Christmas he gave me great occasion to suspect his *declination*, for to my surprise he told me he would resign his Bprick to Dr. Hooper for the preservation of the faith, now in danger.” Among other curious details, the writer mentions, “ having laboured for some months past to bring a young lady of quality off from the schismatical churches entirely. I have talked and wrote to that purpose, but *poor B^r. K. hath undone more in one word* than I was likely to do in ten thousand, for he allowed that liberty, that strange occasional conformity, and so the lady is confirmed in her amphibious devotion. God be merciful to this poor Church. The delusion and infatuation spreads wider and wider. *This poor gentleman's lapse* is occasion of great lamentation unto us, and laughter to our enemies. It confirms more the otherwise well inclined in their schism, hardening the obstinate schismatick, and I fear gives occasion to the professed enemies of God to blaspheme more abundantly, and as for my own part, it is a double affliction to think that I must be necessitated to forsake his communion,

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 70.

who received me by absolution to the peace and unity of the Church ; but I must do it, if that father hath fallen himself into those errors, out of which (I daily bless God) I am retrieved." *

Lloyd did not approve of all this violence of the Jacobites, but, as he was their ostensible head, he would not act contrary to their views. His affection and respect for Ken had placed him in a difficulty, by prompting him to yield, at least a tacit, approval of his Cession, which he now endeavoured to retract. He wrote two letters, the precise tenor of which can only be surmised from the somewhat tart and reproachful answers returned by Ken, who felt keenly the abandonment of his friend, in recalling what he had before said, and leaving him to the unmitigated anger of his censurers. He heard also that Lloyd had the indiscretion to allow some, who were most hot against him, to see his letters, written in confidence, which he calls hard usage,—and not unreasonably, if it were true.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ April 1st, 1704.

“ My good Lord and Brother,

“ I perceive by your two last that your Lordshippe is very shy of owning your approbation of my action,† at which I justly wonder, in regard that your expressions signify it very clearly. I have done nothing but what may be justified by primitive precedents, and which is for the preservation of the *Depositem*, which ought chiefly to exhaust a Pastour's zeal, especially when he is in all respects *disabled* himselfe for Pastoral care, and that the flock might have a shepherd, and not a *hireling*. As for the clause you mention, I could give some

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 71

† His Resignation.

instances, from my own knowledge, but the persons are dead, and I will not name them. If I had been conversant in the towne, I might possibly have heard of more. The truth is, that which provoked me to mention it, was one of our brethren in the Country, who to a friend of mine very much blamed my Cession. My friend who heard him, presently reply'd to this purpose ; that he should rather reflect on himselfe, who had been making a bargain for an acquaintance of his who was deprived, which it seems my friend knew, and he was presently silenced, being told that no such thing was chargeable on me ; and this passage coming to my knowledge, occasioned that clause in my letter. I am not surpris'd at the censures bestowed on me ; I foresaw them all ; and, to deal freely with your Lordshippe, you are not without your share. 'Tis not long ago that a very sober person expressed some dissatisfaction at your suffering your son to take *all tests* ; I reply'd that I never heard you did so ; and that it might be a false report ; and so the discourse ended. For my own part, I never did any thing in my life *more to my satisfaction than my Receding*. It has eased me of a great load which lay on me, and has entirely *loosened me from the world* ; so that I have now nothing to doe but to think of eternity, for which God of His infinite mercy prepare us.

“ My good Lord,

“ Your Lord^{sh} very affect: Friend and Brother,

“ T. B. & W.”*

A few days after he wrote again,

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord and dear Brother,

“ Though I wrote to your Lordship last, yett I am in a manner bound to write again, to let you know that the ferment against me rises higher and higher, infomuch that when the neighbours at Bristol come hither, they manifestly insult

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 74.

me, and though you are pleased to tell me that others kindled this flame, and not yourself, I must take the freedom to tell you that it is yourself have most contributed to it. For 'tis still vehemently urged against me, that I acted quite contrary to your earnest remonstrances, which you know to be false. If I did, I do not remember that I ever put myself into your keeping, and was to do nothing but by your direction; but you yourself can acquit me in that particular, by only relating matter of fact. But I find there is a flat contradiction between them and me; I affirm you approved my action, and they flatly deny it, and affirm the quite contrary, and that increases their zeal: now I calmly appeal to you to let me know the literal importance of this expression, for I will only mention this: *'I heartily congratulate your choice, and wish a double portion of your spirit may rest upon the head and heart of your Successor, for I trust he will act valiantly and becoming his station.'* If this does not signify an approbation, and more than that, a congratulation, both of my action and the person, to the height, I am much mistaken. Sure you would not have used this language, if you had thought my successor, as you style him, a schismatical Bishop. *No, good Brother, your native thoughts were the same with mine: but when you heard a cry against me, you flew to the distinction of Person and Cession, and 'tis from thence that the fury against me was raised for doing an act which, according to the best of my judgment, appeared truly primitive and charitable, and I may add necessary.* This is not all; the heat against me is furnished with fresh fuel from the town, and that by your communicating my letters, which I am charged with here. This is hard usage; sure I am, that I have never showed your letters to my angry neighbours, being unwilling to expose private correspondence, which when exposed is easily misrepresented, and exaggerated, and if I had done it I verily believe that the like heat would be raised against yourself. Sure I am, had you acted uniformly to the expressions you used to me, this storm had quite

allayed, or at least very much moderated. *Upon the whole matter I,—who desire nothing more than in retreat quietly to serve God, to pray for my brethren, which I daily do, and to mind only my latter end,—seeing my letters do but make more trouble, desire to be excused from writing for the future, for I find it much easier for me silently to endure the passion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it. I beseech God to make us wise for eternity.*

“ Your Lordships very affect: Brother,

“ T. B. AND W.”*

We cannot be surprized to see his temper ruffled for a moment at finding his friend appear to join in the cry against him. He was assailed by a host of angry declaimers, who gave him all the hard names of “schismatic, deluded, incoherent,—the poor gentleman whose lapse gave occasion to the professed enemies of God to blaspheme,” &c. And to have his private letters shown about was enough to make him resolve to write no more.

In answer to this remonstrance, Lloyd sent him a diatribe, which would occupy four closely printed pages,—and though it is sufficiently pungent, it would not repay the reader’s patience. It details and explains the points at issue between them, and draws a distinction between his approval (which he says he never expressed) of Ken’s resigning his Bishopric, and congratulations on his having made choice of so worthy a successor. He also denies having shown Ken’s letters to others; “I communicated none of your letters to any: I did indeed read a passage to Mr. Spincks in my own vindication, out of your’s of the

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 76.

6th of December, which satisfied him about your Cession."—The whole letter shows how warmly and passionately these matters were debated among all parties. Lloyd charges Ken with "pettish heat;" and in reference to his letter exclaims, in the same temper, "what stuffe is this!" He concludes by saying he will not be concerned in any further *brouilliers* [*brouilleries*]. This is what Frampton, in one of his cheerful letters, calls "a Rowland for an Oliver." If Ken was in the wrong to be impatient at the contradiction of his friends, we may find an excuse for him, especially when his candour prompted him at once to beg pardon. Even righteous Job spake unadvisedly under the same trial.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"May 1.

"My very good Lord and Brother,

"Your Lordship's was sent to me to Poulshot last night. *I confess when I wrote my last I was heated, and provoked to a great degree, and if my provocation transported me to any indecent expressions, I beg your pardon, which you will I hope the more readily grant, because you seem to have been in the like passion when you wrote, and because I intend to give you no further trouble.* You must give me leave to be sensible when I am insulted, which I can very easily forgive. Every day encreases the satisfaction I have in providing so well for my flock. God keep us in His holy fear, and make us wise for eternity.

"Your Lordship's very affectionate Friend and Br.

"T. K.)*

Ken's last letter is signed T. K. No sooner had his friend Hooper taken possession of the see, than

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 78.

he resigned his title of Bath and Wells. Some of his after letters bear the signature of "late Bishop." He desired nothing in his retreat but "to serve God, to pray for his brethren, and to mind only his last end." The holy zeal for his Master's glory, which had prompted him in all his pastoral offices, was not extinct: his affections were unalterably the same, but they were directed more singly to the interior Christian life. His wearied spirit, and broken health, required rest. We shall see how he sighed for deliverance out of a tedious earthly prison, to dwell for ever in the glorious light above. His humble and retired walk is a spectacle that we may yet contemplate with interest and profit: not only as an example of patient endurance under acute bodily sufferings, but of a deepening sense of God's boundless love, as he moved onward to his eternal rest.

An unexpected providence, however, was yet in store for him, to render his circumstances more easy on this side the grave. "Dr. Hooper, in accepting the Bishopric of his friend, prayed leave of the Queen to make a condition; which was to retain his Chantry of Exeter in commendam. It was 200*l.* a year, which he undertook to pay constantly to Bishop Ken. The Queen was much pleased with the proposal, and thanked Hooper for putting her in mind of it."* This was a strong proof of her respect for the aged Prelate, because it was well known that he was resolute against the Oath of Allegiance, which she was not disposed to overlook in others:—when her Non-juring

* MS. *Life of Hooper*, by Mrs. Prowse.

uncle, Lord Rochester, asked leave to come to Court, the concise reply was, "let him take the Oaths." Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, objected to Hooper's retaining the chantership in commendam, thinking the patronage fairly devolved to himself. He might not be aware that the arrangement was intended to benefit Ken, who certainly knew nothing of it himself. They had been companions in the Tower, in 1688: but at the Revolution, Trelawney took the Oaths to William. Possibly each of these old friends, who had stood together in a former contest, now looked upon the other as a deserter from his colours. Ken might think that the cause of the Church had been abandoned by Trelawney, who probably regarded Ken as false to the principles of liberty. Be this as it may, Trelawney was not a man to be moved from his purpose; and Hooper, having the Queen's word, and being in possession, would not yield the interests of his friend. The Lord Treasurer, Godolphin, the friend of John Evelyn, and husband of Margaret Blagge, interposed to settle the dispute. "The Queen sent for Dr. Hooper, and told him it would be for her service if he would resign the Chantership of Exeter; but that Bishop Ken should be no loser, as he should have 200*l.* a year constantly paid him out of the Treasury. Hooper gladly assented to the proposal, for he thought it would be more to Ken's advantage to depend upon the young Queen's life for this pension, than upon his for the Chantership."*

We may imagine Hooper's delight, in conveying to

* MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

his friend intelligence of the royal grant, by the warm expression of Ken's feelings on receiving it.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"June 1, 1704.

"My good Lord,

"Your Lordshippe gave me a wonderfull surprise when you informed me y^t y^e Queen had been pleased to settle a very liberal pension on me. I beseech God to accumulate the blessings of both lives on her Majesty for her royal bounty to me, so perfectly free and unexpected; and I beseech God abundantly to reward my Lord Treasurer, who inclined her to be thus gracious to me, and give him a plentiful measure of wisdom from above.

"My Lord, lett it not shock your native modesty, if I make this just acknowledgment, y^t though y^e sense of her Majesty's favour in y^e pension is deservedly great, yett, her choosing you for my successor gave me much more satisfaction; as my concerne for y^e eternal welfare of y^e flock exceeded all regard for my own temporall advantage, being as truly conscious of my own infirmitys, as I am assured of your excellent abilitys, of wth y^e diocese, even at your first appearance, signally reaped y^e fruits. God of His infinite goodness keep us in His reverential love, and make us wise for eternity.

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most affectionate

"Friend & Brother,

"THO. KEN. L. B. & W. *

"[Late Bath and Wells.]"

It was now fourteen years since Ken had been deprived. The unexpected grant of 200*l.* per annum, was a great accession. But Bishop Hooper would not allow him to "*give it all away, which he was so*

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 78.

charitable as to be always doing ; so that his habit was mean, and a poor horse to carry him about, which made Hooper entreat him to lay out something for himself ; and from that time he appeared in every thing according to his condition."*†

It seems probable that he rode this " poor horse," when in the month of September of the same year, he paid an interesting visit to Bishop Frampton, his deprived brother of Gloucester, the deeply pious, indomitable, and facetious octogenarian, every one of whose letters calls forth a smile of satisfaction, and of confidence in his honest English character. He was far from all prejudice or fear : he seemed to verify the spirit of St. Paul, " for our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation with the world."‡ His distance from London in 1688, was the only reason why he had not signed the petition of the seven Bishops against the Declaration of James II., in time to be sent to the Tower with them : but he gave his "*Approbo*" two days afterwards, and came to London, to take the consequences, whatsoever they might be. We shall have a fuller account of him hereafter ; meanwhile Ken thus describes his friend in 1704 :

* This may recall to the reader's mind Izaak Walton's description of Richard Hooker,—" an obscure harmless man ; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat ; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul : his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications." Walton's *Lives*, by Zouch, 3rd edit., vol. i. p. 420.

† Prowse's MS. *Life of Hooper*.

‡ 2 Cor. ii. ver. 12.

"FOR THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.*

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

"I made, as I told you I intended, a visit to our good Brother of Gloucester, who was not a little joyed to see me. He is very cheerful, and being past eighty, does not only daily expect, but, like St. Paul, longs for his dissolution. He has many infirmities of old age, but his eyes are very good, and he uses no spectacles. With all the tenderness imaginable he remembers your Lordship. Dr. Bull being in my way, I called upon him, which he took the more kindly, because he thought, we had as much abandonned him, as he seems to have abandonned us, and the respect I paid him, I perceive surpris'd him, and the rather because he never has taken any notice of our deprived brethren: but he has reason to value his old friends, for his new have little regarded him. My best respects to your good lady. I beseech God to keep us in His holy fear, and to make us wife for eternity.

"Your Lordship's most affect: Brother,

"THO. B. & W.†

Scaled with his arms.

"Sep: 17. 1704.

Thus endorsed by Lloyd,
B & Wells 17. 7^{bre} 1704."

From this mention of Dr. George Bull, it is evident that these two excellent men had, in former years, enjoyed personal intercourse; and that Bishop Morley's authoritative condemnation, in 1669, of Bull's early and celebrated work, the *Harmonia Apostolica*, had not deterred his Chaplain from a friendship with the author of it. Although the different course they took regarding the Oaths to William and Mary, interrupted

* Addressed, as all his letters at this period were, "For Mrs. Hannah Lloyd, at Mr. Harbin's, a Grocer over against Somerset House."

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 60.

their former intimacy, they were each convinced of the other's sincerity and orthodoxy; and their political divergence was not permitted to sever the friendship, to which one link only was wanting, and that not an indispensable one. It is gratifying to know, that the interview between the deprived Prelate, and the great theologian, was marked by feelings of kindliness and respect; and we may well imagine how Bull must have contrasted this spontaneous tribute of esteem, offered to him by an old friend, with the unmerited neglect of his new ones. In a few brief moments old attachments, and congenialities of opinion, on subjects of deeper interest than political oaths, doubtless revived, and shone out after a temporary obscurity. Not until 1705 was the impoverished See of St. David's forced upon the reluctant acceptance of this aged defender of Christian truths; and in 1709 he preceded Ken to the grave, revered not only by his own, but by the Gallican Church also, as the illustrious champion of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.*

Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen College, in his 98th year, has favoured me with the following tradition in his own family, which I give precisely in his own words;

“Bishop Ken was staying in Gloucestershire, near Badminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, with whom he was acquainted. The Bishop being an early riser, called one morning to pay his respects to the Duke. The Duke was not stirring; but Ken was received by the Chaplain, who believing him to be a Clergyman from the neighbourhood,

* Life of Dr. George Bull, by Robert Nelson, 8vo, 1713, p. 387. Coleridge's Table Talk, 4th edit., 1851, pp. 44, 270.

invited him to breakfast. Whilst they were so engaged, the Duke entered,—and immediately, on seeing the Bishop, fell on his knees, and asked his blessing. The Chaplain, surprised when he found the distinction of his visitor, began to apologize for the manner in which he had received him; but was stopp'd by the Bishop's declaring the obligation to be entirely on his side, who had been so hospitably entertained."

I am indebted to the Venerable Robert Wilberforce, Archdeacon of the East Riding, for the following anecdote;

"The ancestress of my late Mother [wife of William Wilberforce, M.P. for the County of York] in the fourth generation, was Barbara, wife of Viscount Longueville, of Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire. Her husband died in 1704, leaving seven children. Bishop Ken was requested to see the young widow, to give her religious consolation. He went to visit her,—begged to see all the children, who were very young, and whom he drew up in a line, saying, '*It was very grateful to him to see so many beings, who had never wilfully offended God.*' The widow, Lady Longueville, lived near sixty years afterwards, and was well known to my grandmother, her great-grand-daughter. She died in 1763, aged ninety-eight years."

Every little incident on record of the good Bishop furnishes a proof of the general love and reverence he had conciliated:—

"The Queen's pension was honourably and constantly paid every year by Mr. Taylor, of the Treasury, to Bishop Hooper, who as soon as he appeared there, had it immediately put into his hand, rolled up in paper, for he never waited longer than to receive Bishop Ken's compliments, and acknowledgements to him for the exactness of the payments. And to do justice to this gentleman, it is right to say that when Bishop Hooper offered one day to make him a present

of fifty guineas, ready done up to put in his hands, as from Bishop Ken (who knew nothing of it) he would not by any means take it, but with tears said, 'God forbid he should ever take any thing from that good man, for he was but doing his duty.'"^{*}

We may judge of the familiarity between the deprived Bishop and his successor, especially when associated in a common work of charity, from the following letter which Ken addresses to Hooper, signing himself *late Bishop of Bath and Wells*, to evidence his entire relinquishment of the See.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"Oct. 6th, 1704.

"My very good Lord,

"I have sent my servant to begge of your Lordshippe two or three bottles of canary for o^r sick friend, wth y^e Doctour comends to him. Your Lordshippe gave y^e whole family so seasonable and sensible a consolation, y^t it revived y^e whole family, and it gave me a very great satisfaction to see my friend doe an act of so great, so free, and so well-timed charity. Y^e good man is full of resignation to y^e divine will, and has an humble confidence of a blessed immortality. He has slepped this night as well as could be expected, and is asleepe now, and his pulse, wth for some days was unperceivable, is now become tolerable. He has strength to turne in his bed, as weak as he is, and to expectorate, and is sensibly mended; and I hope God will restore him, wth will be a blessing next to miraculous. He has his understanding perfectly. My best respects to your good lady, and to y^e three

^{*} Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper. It is as honourable to Taylor of the Treasury as to Ken, that he paid the Bishop's pension without deductions: for when George I. made a gift of 100*l.* to Whiston, the "Treasury officers' abatements" amounted to 11*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, thus leaving him only 88*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Whiston's Memoirs, p. 298.

young gentlewomen, and to Mr. Guilford. I beseech God to make us wife for eternity.

“ My good Lord,

“ Your Lordshipp’s most affectionate Friend and B’,

“ THO. KEN, L. B. & W.

“ [Late Bath & Wells.]”*

There was in every thing that Hooper did the favour of a sweet and obliging temper; and it is difficult to say which of the two friends through life had manifested the more exemplary and disinterested love for the other. They were equally unselfish and liberal-hearted. Hooper, having been but a few months Bishop of St. Asaph, when he was translated to Bath and Wells, “ generously refused the usual mortuaries or pensions, then so great a burthen to the clergy of Wales, saying, ‘ they should never pay so dear for a sight of him.’ His prudent, courteous, and liberal behaviour in his Diocese, secured the esteem both of the laity and clergy. To the latter he was a faithful friend. His disposal of the preferments in his Diocese was judicious and disinterested. Those who served, or who were zealous in their endeavour to serve the cause of the Church, were dignified without any expectation, and the diligent were always advanced without being permitted to undergo the pain of solicitation.”†

We should desire to speak less of his accomplishments—(often the result of natural gifts, or of careful cultivation), than of his truly Christian principles, in

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 79.

† *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*, by the Rev. S. H. Cassan, p. 170.

which he set an example worthy the imitation of all Bishops: but these qualities were so happily blended together, as to form a very eminent character.

“ This prelate astonished even his most accomplished guests with his learning; he was an Universalist in the best sense of the word, and not a smatterer in various sciences, but a perfect master of them all; the lawyer, the casuist, the divine, the antiquary, the linguist, the philosopher, the classical scholar; yet always the refined and accomplished gentleman. He blended the gravity of the Bishop with the pleasantry of the Wit; but the former always restrained the latter, so that the gratefulness of piety ever kept the brilliancy of imagination in chastened restraint. *He was the Father of his Diocese, known to, beloved, and esteemed by the good and wise. He was not a man to patronise Clergymen of doubtful ‘ liberal,’ or low church principles, because they were his nephews or cousins. His Clergy were his family—his spiritual sons: to them he was all gentleness. He drew no line against applicants for preferments, because they were applicants: he encouraged them to reveal their wants, and, when necessary, his patronage and purse raised the distressed, laborious, zealous, or orthodox Pastor to ease and competence.*” *

Such men as Hooper, and his friend Ken, were worthy of each other: their attachment began in the warmth of youth; for fifty years was constantly strengthened by a mutual respect and confidence; it was sundered only by death, and we cannot doubt, that Ken’s pious anticipations expressed in the following lines, are now realized in the Everlasting Mansions:

* Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, by the Rev. S. H. Cassan, pp. 171, 172.


“Our love, which at Heaven’s gate first mutual grew,
God here below took pleasure to renew;
In Heav’n it will to consummation soar,
We then shall ne’er be separated more.”*

* The Works of the Right Reverend, Learned, and Pious Thomas Ken, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. 4 vols. 8vo, 1721, vol. ii. p. 290. Their portraits hang side by side in the Palace at Wells;—where Hooper’s charities vied with those of Ken.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Resemblance of Ken, in some particulars of his life, to St. Gregory of Nazianzum. Ken's Poems—Death of Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester: his Character.

F the reader has felt an interest in Ken's previous life, dedicated, as it was, to God's service, and to alleviating the woes of others, he will be prepared to sympathize with him in the anguish he had to endure, in his own person, as he verged towards the grave. Alas! his infirmities were increasing upon him: he suffered from the rheumatism, the cholic, and an internal ulcer, which caused him perpetual agony.

In this, as in several other respects, his life and character remind us of Gregory of Nazianzum, the great ornament of the Church in the time of the Council of Constantinople. In a like spirit, if with unequal steps, Ken followed in the same path of holiness. Both despised riches, except as the means of doing good: they employed their revenues in supplying themselves with bare necessaries for an abstemious and slender subsistence, and disposed of the remainder in behalf of the poor. Both were pre-eminent in their day for an intimate knowledge of the holy Scriptures: both left behind them monuments of Christian eloquence: the greater praise of each was a fervent love of God and

man, which prompted them in their self-denying and laborious lives.

St. Gregory was afflicted with many sharp fits of sickness, which often did not permit him to sleep. Ken thus describes his own sufferings :

“ Pain keeps me waking in the night ;
I longing lie for morning light :
Methinks the sluggish Sun
Forgets he this day’s course must run.
Oh ! heavenly torch, why this delay
In giving us our wonted day ?

“ I feel my watch,* I tell the clock, †
I hear each crowing of the cock.
Ev’n Egypt, when three days,
The Heav’ns with-held the solar rays,
And all in thickest darkness dwelt,
Night more afflicting never felt.”

And again,

“ As in the Night I restless lie,
I the Watch-Candle keep in eye ;
The innocent I often blame
For the slow waisting of its flame.
In bed Pain makes it’s first attack.
Ah !—you are not my Bed—but Rack.

* “ His watch was purposely so contrived, as that he could by his finger discover the time, to half a quarter of an hour.” *The Works of the Right Reverend, Learned, and Pious Thomas Ken, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.* 4 vols. 8vo, 1721, vol. iii. p. 396, note. This is clearly not the watch, now in the possession of Mr. Serjeant Merewether, which is a small, thick watch, in a Tortoise-shell case, set in silver (the maker, “ Th. Tompion, London”), with a little common steel chain, and three metal keys of rude workmanship. It was once the property of Dr. Hawes, a descendant from the family, who left it to Serjeant Merewether,—the lineal descendant of the worthy Physician of Devizes, Dr. Merewether, who attended the Bishop in his last illness.

† This was probably the “ Pendulum Repeating Clock ” which had been bequeathed to Ken, by Dr. Fitzwilliam.

"Sweet Ease, Oh whither art thou fled?
 With one short slumber ease my head.
 My curtain oft I draw away,
 Eager to see the morning ray;
 But when the morning gilds the skies,
 The morning no relief supplies.
 To me, alas! the morning light
 Is as afflictive as the night."*

St. Gregory was bent with age, his countenance worn with tears and austerities; his poor garb, and his extreme indigence made but a mean outward show. So it was with Ken. Both were deprived of their Bishoprics. St. Gregory seeing the great ferment of his enemies against him, cried out in the assembly,—

"If my holding the diocese gives any disturbance, behold, I am willing, like Jonah, to be cast into the sea to appease the storm, though I did not raise it. If all followed my example, the Church would enjoy an uninterrupted tranquillity. This dignity I never desired; I took the charge upon me much against my will. If you think fit, I am ready to depart; and I will return back to my little cottage, that you may remain here quiet, and the Church of God enjoy peace. *I only desire that the see may be filled by a person that is capable and willing to defend the faith.*"†

In the same spirit let Ken speak for himself:

"Bless'd Gregory, with proud noisy Prelates tir'd,
 Whose anti-Christian spite his fall conspir'd,
 Thus spake: 'Tho' I from raising storms am free,
 Yet if you think my fate will calm the sea,
 I'll gladly be your Jonah, throw me o'er,
 And to the Church a peaceful calm restore.'
 I gladly would be offer'd to the wave,
 So I the Church might by my ruin save.

* The Works of Bishop Ken, vol. iii. p. 421.

† Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. pp. 594—603.

'Twill waft me or to Heav'n, or quiet shade :
 In either,—Hymn is the employment made.
 I, crush'd by state decree, and griev'd with pain,
 The Past'ral toil unable to sustain,
 More gladly off the hallow'd burthen shake,
 Than I at first the weight did undertake,
 And shall rejoice, when sinking to my grave,
 That my dear sheep a worthier Shepherd have ;
 That, living, I had buried Past'ral care,
 And for my last was freer to prepare."*

The Saint took leave of the city of Constantinople in a pathetic address, delivered in the Metropolitan Church, before an incredible number of people : in like manner Ken departed from Wells. St. Gregory concluded in these words, " my dear children, preserve the *Depositum* of Faith, and remember the stones which have been thrown at me, because I planted it in your hearts." Ken expresses the same anxious love for his people, when he says :—

" To his dear flock when Greg'ry bad adieu,
 He warn'd them vow baptismal to renew,—
 And rather die glad Martyrs at the stake,
 Than the *Depositum* he left forsake.
 With like, though with inferior sacred heat,
 The same request I to my flock repeat :
 Wolves on the vitals of their Faith will prey,
 Their safety is their Shepherd to obey."†

St. Gregory was tenderly affected in abandoning his flock, his own converts especially. They followed him weeping and entreating him to abide with them. He was not insensible to their tears ; but motives of greater weight obliged him not to regard them on this occasion : an exactly parallel case with our Bishop. Gregory left to Ken a full justification and example,

* The Works of Bishop Ken, Dedication, vol. i.

† Ibid.

when he quitted the public worship of the Church, and retired into solitude ;—where he had a garden, a fountain, and a shady grove, in which he took much delight : he lived in company with certain solitaries, estranged from pleasures, and in the practice of bodily mortification, fasting, watching, and praying much on his knees. He says, “ we have fed the poor, we have served our brethren, we have sung the psalms with cheerfulness. If we are no longer permitted to continue this, let us employ our devotion some other way. Grace is not barren, and opens different ways to Heaven. Let us live in retirement ; let us occupy ourselves in contemplation ; let us purify ourselves by the light of God.”

In his retirement Gregory wrote devotional poems, for the edification of such as delighted in music and poetry. They are full of ardent love, and prayers to our Blessed Saviour to assist him. Ken’s “ Preparatives for Death,” “ Anodynes of Pain,” “ Hymns for all the Festivals in the Year,” and his “ Songs on Jesus,” though far inferior in beauty as compositions, breathe the same spirit of love and piety. Perhaps the devotional writings of no modern Divine have approached much nearer to the Primitive, which we may almost call angelical, aspirations of the Church, than Bishop Ken’s. Alexander Knox remarks, that there is in the peculiar character of Ken’s piety, as in that of Jeremy Taylor’s, and some few others whom he names, something of sublimity, as well as simplicity : there was a seraphick glow of heart, a fire of Divine Love, which lives and breathes in the ancient writers ;—but though enshrined in our Liturgy, like

the Pot of Manna in the Tabernacle, is not the prevailing spirit of most Protestants.*

“The characters to which I refer have been Spiritualists, rather than Theologists. * * * I must not multiply names : yet I cannot but specify Herbert, Taylor, and Ken ; each of these excellent persons (as well as Doddridge and Leighton, with the whole happy class who have been like-minded) pursued religion not merely on account of the evils which it averts, but for the sake of the good, even the present good, which it confers : they felt the force of that admirable saying of St. Augustin : ‘ *Fecisti nos tibi, et cor semper irrequietum donec requiescat in te.*’ They were at the same time fully aware of the frailty of human nature, which they well knew could only be surmounted by the infused grace of God ; and this they sought by daily and hourly prayer. But they were not less sensible of the capability of human nature ; and they accordingly placed no narrow limits to their spiritual prospects even in this present world. The good things which they have brought forth out of the good treasure of their heart give ample evidence that they did not hope in vain.

“From these men, then, I am able to take an estimate of spiritual peace here, and form a reckoning of consummate happiness hereafter. I consider their records of themselves to afford the best and surest comment on the evangelical promises, both spiritual and eternal, because they aspired with peculiar ardour to the fulness of spiritual blessings : and while corporeally on earth, lived mentally in eternity. The more attentively I examine and compare these almost transparent characters, the more deeply I am satisfied that Christian piety is in them an anticipatory Paradise ; and had I no other ground, must, in all reason, conclude, from such blessed first fruits, that the full harvest will be replete with happiness and glory. * * * It is the solid rationality of those good men’s

* Remains of Alexander Knox. Third edit., vol. ii. pp. 108, 110.

happinefs in religion, which juftifies our eftimation, and warrants our reliance. The uniform principles which animated their virtues, and eftablifhed their hearts and minds, are, in their own way, as demonftrable as mathematical truths.” *

And again,—

“ I have little of Bifhop Ken at this moment within my reach, but that little furnifhes me with a paffage ftrictly appofite to one of the points (indeed the chief one) on which your question about the future turns. He fays, from the full feelings of his own heart (in a poem on ‘ The Divine Attribute of Truth ’)—

‘ Thy promifes of hearing prayer,
Of pardon and paternal care,
Of efficacious aids
When hell our fouls invades ;
Of blifs ecftatic, unconfin’d,
Of thy good Spirit templing in our mind ;
‘ They all infallibly are true,
All are perform’d in feafons due ;
My God, much fooner
My thinking would deny,
Than of thy gracious promife doubt,
The fteady anchor of a foul devout.’” †

Ken thus, with all becoming modetty, compares himfelf to the great Bifhop of Conftantinople :

“ Bleff’d Gregory, whole Patriarchal height
Shed o’re the Eaftern fphere celeftial light,
To Nazianzum flew, dethron’d by rage,
And fpent in fongs divine his drooping age.
I, if the leaft may with the greateft dare,
In *grief*, not gifts or graces, to compare,
Forc’d from my flock by uncanonick heat,
In finging Hymns thus folace my retreat.

* Remains of Alexander Knox. Third edit., vol. iii. pp. 434-5.

† Ibid. p. 438. The Works of Bifhop Ken, vol. ii. p. 62.

“Bless’d Gregory, with pain and sickness griev’d,
 His spirit oft with songs devout reliev’d:
 And while on Hymns his meditation dwelt,
 Devotion sweeten’d ev’ry pang he felt.
 Pain haunting me, I court the sacred muse,
 Verse is the only Laudanum I use.
 Eas’d of my sacred load, I live content;
 In Hymn, not in dispute, my passion vent.

“Bless’d Gregory to sacred verse consign’d
 The last efforts of his immortal mind:
 Those poems, loftiest prospects have disclos’d,
 On brink of bright eternity compos’d.
 I the small dolorous remnant of my days
 Devote to hymn my great Redeemer’s praise.
 And, nearer as I draw t’ward heavenly Rest,
 The more I love th’employment of the blest.”*

In an age of criticism and refinement, enriched with the inheritance left to us by our poets, from Dryden downwards, through a century and a half, Ken’s verse will find comparatively few admirers. We are so accustomed to the “elegance, facility, and golden cadence of poesy,”† that no energy of thought, or genuine influences of the heart, will compensate for the want of smoothly-flowing numbers. With a natural and ample vein of imagination, he was deficient in the essentials of pleasing, sonorous, and varying verse,—those easy rhythms, so grateful to the ear,—that metrical expression, which springs, as by instinct, to embody the poet’s exuberant flow of thought and feeling. Although we might have looked for these in the author of the *Morning*, *Evening*, and *Midnight Hymns*, his poems often exhibit ill-regulated

* The Works of Bishop Ken, Dedication, vol. i.

† Shakespeare. *Love’s Labour Lost*, act iv. sc. 2.

and grotesque flights, beyond the limits of taste. Even amid heavenly images, we are perplexed by an admixture of harsh uncouth passages, that clog the brighter visions of his mind. Yet his volumes contain many effusions of real pathos, many animated descriptions,—and couplets here and there, so terse and pointed, as to remind us of Pope. His heart was ever straining up to heaven, kindled by a spark of holy fire, more vivid than his pen had power to express in verse. If, instead of those poetical essays, he had given us his meditations in the emphatic prose of his “Practice of Divine Love,” and “Winchester Manual,” we should have had a treasure of devotional exercises for all time. To test this, we need only clear some of his numerous hymns, and other poems, of their inharmonious numbers, and we find at once a store of the richest thoughts of a devout soul, breathing its aspirations to the God of prayer.

Dr. Markland points our attention to the second volume of the works of John Byrom, himself an elegant rhymers, who pays at once a tribute of admiration to Ken’s poetry, and of respect to his character. He writes “A poetical Letter to a Lady, occasioned by her desiring him to *revise and polish the Poems of Bishop Ken.*” After praising him as one of the worthiest of men, and the best Expofitor of the Church Catechism, he says,

“His phrase might have more artificial cast;
But, in the main, his pieces as they stand,
Could scarce be altered by a second hand:
Patchwork improvements in the modern style,
Bestow’d upon some venerable pile,
Do but deface it—Poems to revise
That Ken has writ—another Ken must rise.”

This he himself proves by his own attempt to polish Ken's Poetical Dedication to Viscount Weymouth, for it is greatly inferior to the original.*

We cannot pass by the admirable critique of Mr. Keble, "in whose own divine songs," as Dr. Markland says, "true wisdom, and the holiest thoughts are expressed in the most harmonious numbers." Speaking of Ken,—the Author of the Christian Year observes,

"We shall hardly find, in all Ecclesiastical history, a greener spot than the later years of this courageous and affectionate Pastor; persecuted alternately by both parties, and driven from his station in his declining age; yet singing on, with unabated cheerfulness to the last. Whoever in earnest loves his three well-known Hymns, and knows how to value such unaffected strains of poetical devotion, will find his account in turning over his four volumes, half narrative, and half lyric, and all avowedly on sacred subjects; the narrative often cumbrous, and the lyric verse not seldom languid and redundant: yet all breathing such an angelic spirit, interspersed with such pure and bright touches of poetry, that such a reader as we have supposed will scarcely find it in his heart to criticize them."†

We have seen how, in his earlier days, Ken sung his own hymns to his viol, thus dedicating his loved recreations of music and poetry to the one object of his life,—the glory of the Redeemer.‡ Now amid

* See Byrom's Poems, vol. ii. pp. 110 to 115, and Markland's Life of Ken, p. 107. It were much to be wished that modern pruners would adopt this advice, and cease to revise what Ken has writ.

† Quarterly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 230, and Markland's Life of Ken, p. 109.

‡

"Sweet Music, with blest Poetry began,
Congenial both to angels and to man,

the languid hours of suffering, and the infirmities of age, they were still his constant solace; he was like "the pale faint swan, who chants a doleful hymn to his own death."* Loving his memory as we do, we rejoice in the knowledge that he had such sweet Anodynes of pain, and that they have been handed down to us, even with all their faults, for the comfort of other afflicted souls.

Ken was not unconscious that censures would be passed on his effusions in verse. His poetical Epistle to the Reader may be thus rendered :

"When at hours relieved from anguish, I quietly read over my songs, sung to enfeeble the insults of pain, I doom them to the flames; yet when I have decreed them to the funeral pile, the paternal yearnings plead in their favour. Like a father who loves his deformed and blind child, my fondness prevails over the impartial sense of their defects. *Reflecting how Heaven possessed my soul when I poured out my songs of praise*, I hoped they might serve to warm others, as well as myself. Thus they gained a reprieve, and a license to appear: but not till after my death, when no censures can disturb my rest in the grave. Critics may condemn my poetry, as Michal reproached King David, when he danced before the Ark ;"

Song was the native language to rehearse
The elevations of the soul in verse.
The Morning Stars, when they from nothing sprang,
Poetic hymns in their first moments sang,
And will, with sacred unremitting heat,
New hymns to all eternity repeat."

Works of Bishop Ken, vol. i. p. 192, quoted by Markland, in his Life of Ken, p. 109.

* Shakespeare. King John, act v. sc. 7.

"But the good King reply'd with Saint-like grace,
 For God I gladly will myself debase:
 Thus I, to light one spark of Love divine
 In faithful souls,—no censure will decline."

One of the happy asylums to which Ken loved to resort, as "a retirement into the desert, out of the noise and hurry of the world,"* was Naish House, at Portishead, some six miles from Bristol. There two maiden ladies dwelt, of the name of Kemeyse, "who revered him for his great piety and charity.† He was a sort of ghostly father to them," "exercising all the holy charitable offices flowing from the *ἀγία κοινωμία*, ‡ and especially in fervent intercession with God, in behalfe of the poore, harrassed, and afflicted clergy and others." His letters make frequent mention of these "good virgins," in whose religious society he spent much of his time, especially in winter and during Lent. He calls the house "a kind of nunnery, where I usually abide in my Lord Weymouth's absence."§ His reason for being there at Christmas was "to make a retreat from the festivities of a Palace [Longleat] open to all comers of fashion and quality."||

His friend, Dr. Smith, compares him to

"St. Hierome, conversing with the devout Ladies at Bethlehem, instructing and confirming their faith, and directing their consciences in the methods of true spiritual life, and influencing their souls with seraphic notions of God, and of Christ, and of the other world, and especially by the most

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 99.

† *Ibid.* p. 99.

§ *Ibid.* p. 95.

† *Ibid.* p. 71.

|| *Ibid.* p. 96.

convincing evidence and demonstration of example.”* He speaks of “this private feat of the good Ladyes as having a better pretense to the title of a *Religious House* than those so called in Popish countreys, where superstition, opinion of merit, and forced vowes, take off very much from the pure spirit of devotion, and render their restraint tedious and irksome. But these good Ladyes are happy under your conduct, and are by an uninterrupted course of piety elevated above all the gaudy pompes and vanities of the world, and enjoy all the comforts and satisfactions, and serenity of mind, to be wished for and attained on this side of heaven in their solitudes.”†

This is all we can learn of Naish, and its inmates : it is much to be regretted that Ken did not give a more detailed account of these sisters of mercy, after the example of Francis Turner of Ely, who left behind him a memoir of Nicholas Ferrar, the devout and benevolent recluse of Little Gidding. Like Ferrar, the Miss Kemeyfes not only served God in their retirement by a continued course of devotion, but by active benevolence among the surrounding poor and afflicted. The world is apt to pity the habits of those who take no delight in the busy schemes, or careless pleasures, through which themselves are hurrying. Whereas the lovers of meditation and prayer have the refreshment of communion with the unseen world, which only they themselves can know. Numberless passages in Ken's Poems show how fully he realized that Article of the Catholic Faith, the “Communion of Saints,” as received in the English Church. One may suffice :

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 96.

† *Ibid.*

"Bless'd Spirits, you and we
 Make one celestial family;
 One Father we revere,
 To one fraternal Love adhere,
 You are in a happy state,
 Our bliss is only inchoate:
 O may we, strangers here, this world repell,
 And with our heavenly brethren chiefly dwell:

"Though in your bounded sphere,
 You cannot single vot'ries hear,
 And we in no distress
 To single Saints make our address;
 Yet if, like you, we heed
 The Saints' Communion in our Creed,
 We of each other's state have general view,
 YOU PRAY FOR US, AND WE GIVE THANKS FOR YOU."

KEN'S Poems, vol. i. p. 406.

Robert Frampton, the deprived Bishop of Gloucester, died in 1708. Of this good man we have so few memorials, that it would have been difficult to give even a glimpse of his character,* but for some original letters in Dr. Williams's Collection, and in the Bodleian. These exhibit a courageous spirit equal to any endurance in the cause of truth, with a cheerfulness which nothing could damp. If we were to believe his own modest account of himself, he was neither greatly learned, nor gifted with remarkable talents, having "nothing besides a little popular oratory, and a sprinkling in the tongues as little."

But we are to estimate his acquirements by a higher standard. He had undoubtedly cultivated, at an

* In earlier life he was Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo, and twice visited Jerusalem. On his return home, after sixteen years' absence, he brought with him such ample testimonials of his eminent services, that he was made Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of Gloucester. See Biog. Britan., article "Huntington," vol. iv. p. 2710.

early age, the great gift of eloquence, which made him very eminent as a preacher, and Lloyd of Norwich begins one of his letters to Sancroft, "If I had my Brother of Gloucester's talents, and his current quill, I would forthwith,"* &c. Pepys thus records his admiration of him :

"I to church, and there beyond expectation find our seat, and all the church, cramm'd by twice as many people as used to be : and to my great joy find Mr. Frampton in the pulpit ; and I think the best sermon for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an apostle that ever I heard man ; and it was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church." †

Evelyn, some years later, thus speaks of his eloquence ;

"27 Oct^r 1673. I went to hear that famous preacher, Dr. Frampton, at St^e Giles's, on Psalm xxxix. 6. This divine had been twice at Jerufalem, & was not only a very pious & holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for moving the affections." †

* Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, vol. xxvi. fol. 55.

† Diary of Samuel Pepys, 20th Jan., 1667, edit. 1848, vol. ii. p. 6. Pepys had heard him once before, and was not so much impressed : but it was after dining off herrings, on a fast day, at the Dog Tavern. He says, "10th Oct. 1666. Fast day. Westminster, to the Parish Church, where the Parliament were, and Stillingfleet in the pulpit. So full, no standing there ; so to eat herrings at the Dog Tavern : and then to Church again, and there was Mr. Frampton in the pulpit, whom they cry up so much, a young man, and a mighty ready tongue. I heard a little of his sermon." Vol. i. p. 467.

‡ We have seen how, like Ken, he had withstood the King, in the height of his power, and in the Chapel of Whitehall had incurred his displeasure, by exhorting his hearers to constancy and perseverance in the doctrines of the Church of England. See pp. 323, 324, and 538 *antè* ; and Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 250.

His life appears to have been distinguished by no particular events to strike or dazzle a busy world. We find no biography of him, no record of any one work, pamphlet, sermon, or broad sheet,* that he ever committed to the press. All we know is that, not being able conscientiously to absolve himself from the oath he had taken to James, he was ejected from his Bishopric. Freely accepting poverty as his lot, rather than forfeit his oath, he retired privately to Standish, a country village five miles from Gloucester, where he lived to a great age in the full exercise of the priestly offices, in the bosom of the Anglican Church, and gave no trouble, nor entered into controversy with any one. Anthony Wood bestows two epithets upon him,—“the most religious, and conscientious Dr. Robert Frampton:” a short, but expressive character. He forsook houses and land—his palace and his See, for Christ’s sake, who hath promised in return “*an hundred fold, and the inheritance of everlasting life.*”

In 1680, when Charles II. proposed to consecrate him to the See of Gloucester, he was near 60 years of age. One half of his revenues had always been dedi-

* Writing to Mr. Robert Nelson, he says, “I wish all our Men of War, I mean our Disputants, would beat their swords and spears, as you do, into ploughshares and pruning hooks: endeavouring rather to make their readers turn their thoughts to *Piety* than *Controversy*; since the former, though ne’re so necessary, yea, the *unum necessarium*, is scarcely heard amidst the din and clashings of *Pros* and *Cons.*” “I have often been in the pulpit in season, and out of season; and always *bold* and *honest* enough, God be praised; but never in the Printing-house yet; and believe I never shall be, because I am convinced, that nothing of mine is worthy of the public view.” *Life of John Kettlewell*, Appendix, No. xviii. p. 66.

cated to charitable uses: although he had held the Deanery of Gloucester for seven years, he was so poor that, in a letter to Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, he expresses an alarm lest the expense of taking the Bishopric should expose himself and his poor relations to beggary:

“ Gloucester, Dec. 25, 80.”

“ My good Lord,

“ Y^r letter hath bred noe small confusion in me, both y^r my L^d of Gloucester is in danger, whom I pray God to preserve to y^r uttermost, and y^t I, soe unworthy a person, and one who never thought of such an affaire, or if I did, trembled at it, should, without any desire of mine, be recommended to his Grace of Canterbury, and by his Grace to his sacred Ma^{ty} as a successor, on a vacancy.

“ My Lord, I humbly thanke you, and whoever else hath, or shall have, a kind opinion of me. But give me leave, my Lord, to tell you and them frankly, & plainly, y^t y^r kinnesse in this case, is no better than cruelty to me, and to yourselves.

“ To me, because I know my selfe, & my abilitys better than y^r Lord^{sh} can, or any man else w^ever, and y^t I am noe way capable of soe mighty an office: nor was I soe in my most flourishing age, much lesse in my declination, and w^h two fitts of an apoplexy two years since, and in this very month, shooke my body & mind in such a manner, y^t I am noe longer y^r man that I was formerly, as my friends who daily converse with me, see apparently, & must acknowledge if they speake truth, w^h demanded of them.

“ To you, my Lord, and them, w^h you shall see to your great regret y^t man, whom you were so partiall to, run into errors for want of skill, & through mere weaknesse disparage y^r recommending me to his Grace, & his Grace for recommending me to his Ma^{ty}:—in this case I humbly put y^r question to you, my Lord, & pray you to put it to y^r selfe,

w^t will you say, when it shall be upbraided to you, & w^t will his Grace, w^h it shall be upbraided to him?

“ My Lord, I doe not write these things out of morosenesse, fullennesse, ill nature, ambition of something higher than w^t is offered, or covetousnesse of something more profitable, or crafty desire to be further courted to this. God is my witnesse, ’tis none of these things, nor any else of ill aspect, but such an honest and impartiall estimate as I have, and ought to make of myselfe, at such a conjuncture. Nor will I belye mine innocence or affection to y^e Church of X^t, or to his sacred Ma^y. I hope by God’s grace I shall be ready to lay downe my life for either w^h need requires. My great fear is my incapacity: for let me tell you freely, my Lord, y^t besides a little popular oratory, and a sprinkling in the tongues as little, I have nothing else to recomend me to this or any other employment. None of those depths of knowledge in y^e Councils, Fathers, schoolmen, Church History, &c. w^h are essentiall to such a dignity, especially in such distracted tymes as our’s are.

“ And will you recomend such a man to his Grace, and his Grace to his Ma^y? Consider it in the name of God, for by y^t I conjure you to doe nothing now, y^t you may repent of hereafter. Can such weake hands as mine contribute anything to keep y^t Arke steddy, whose tottering we all lament: *hæ manus Trojam erigent, aut ne labatur conservabunt?* In y^e station where I am, as I have hitherto, soe by God’s grace I will do my utmost to serve his Ma^y and y^e Church; but take heed of putting me out of my depth, where I am neither able to swim, nor can wthout drowning touch y^e bottome.

“ Besides all w^h, give me leave, my Lord, to say, y^t though I never made inquiry, y^t I know of, yet accidentally I have been told, y^t y^e charge of entering on such an office is wondrous great, and y^t my little will noe way reach it. For as in the premises, soe in this, I humbly pray you to be my confessor, and to take this for a certain truth, y^t though I have bin, and perhaps am still thought to be rich, y^e case is

otherwise with me. W^t I brought from Turkey is all gone among my poor relations, and other [illegible] occasions, all but one 600 pounds, half of w^h I have devoted already to charitable uses, w^h I neither will nor can revoke. Y^e profits of w^t places I have are spent yearly, as they come, freely, and as I hope to God's glory. Y^e whole yeare's revenue of Gloucester on halfe an yeare's residence there, y^e whole yeare's revenue of w^t I have elswhere in my halfe yeare's residence at Fontmil. So y^t at y^e yeare's end, since I came to England, I can safely [say] y^t I am not one farthing the richer, nor did I ever purpose to be foe, or thinke it worth the while.

"Now, my Lord, who shall supply this new expence? I assure you I cannot without running into debt, w^h I abhorre: and will you, my Lord, be instrumentall to recomend me to his Grace, or his Grace to his Ma^v y^t I who, though I have not deserved any thing of y^e Church of England, yet never did her any disservice, should in mine old age be probably exposed to beggary, and dye foe, and my poor relations, through mine inability to helpe them, be reduc'd to the same pinch alsoe?"

"Tis Christmasse day, and though my pen be slippery on this occasion, I restraine it, only I call God to witnesse, and y^e Holy Sacrament w^{ch} I have this day received myfelfe, and administred to others, that y^e premises are all true. I pray you to consider y^t seriously; the Shunamite's motto and mine are one; '*Shall I speake for thee,*' sth Elisha, '*to y^e King, or to y^e Captaine of y^e host?*' '*I dwell,*' sth shee, '*among mine owne people.*' Soe would I, if I might; and hope y^t foe I shall. If not, I am sure I have dealt as an honest man should doe.

"Craving your Lord^{sh}'s blessing, I humbly kisse y^r hands, and am

"Y^r Lord^{sh}'s most dutifull Son and Servant,

"ROBERT FRAMPTON."*

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

This hearty desire to be left in his parochial employment was not attended to: the Archbishop, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, and Lloyd, knew his resolute character, and that he would be faithful to the Church on any emergency, and he was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester on the 27th March, 1681. He always addressed Sancroft as his "most Reverend and most deare Father in God," or "my good, deare, ever-honoured Father:" and every letter in Dr. Williams's Collection and in the Bodleian, having reference to Frampton, expresses the confidence and affection which all the Bishops entertained towards him.

Dr. Edward Fowler, the Dean of his Cathedral, was appointed to succeed him. Fowler was not much liked at Gloucester, as Dean, if we may judge by the contests in which he was engaged with the Mayor and Aldermen of that city. In these broils, which proceeded to a most unjustifiable and scandalous length, the civic authorities appear to have been in the wrong.* Several of Frampton's letters to Archbishop Sancroft in 1684, represent the "mighty difficulties" he had to overcome, and "the storm to be appeased:" he declares himself "almost weary of his life," and for the sake of peace "would willingly retire to a private life, if his Majesty would permit."† In one of his letters he expresses his fears, that, when Fowler comes again to Gloucester, the differences will grow to a further height, and he entreats his Grace to give him some good counsel to be meek, and at the same time secretly to admonish the Aldermen to listen patiently

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxxii. p. 143.

† Ibid. p. 157.

to the Dean's sermons which had given so much offence.* When Frampton was to give place to another Bishop, his deprivation occasioned him no personal concern: he laid down his pastoral staff in the same calm and happy spirit with which he had received it. But, that he might not seem to acquiesce in the uncanonical act of his ejection, he left his servant in the palace at Gloucester, with orders to remain, until he was forced away. Having so far entered his protest, he retired in peace to Standish, where he was permitted to live in the Parsonage House.† Marshall says, "the good old Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Frampton)" constantly attended the Church, which he held in Commendam with his Bishopric, often catechized the children in the afternoon of Sundays, and expounded the sermon which had been preached in the morning by another person.‡

So little did he personally regret the loss of his Bishopric that, when Fowler was known to be his successor, a friendly correspondence passed between them. This appears to have given umbrage to Bishop Lloyd.§ He wrote, therefore, to explain exactly what had passed:

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxxii. p. 73.

† Until his death, and was buried there "within the Communion Rails in the Chancel, and had a black marble grave-stone laid over him, with this inscription on it:

"*Robertus Frampton, Episcopus Gloucestrensis; cætera quis nescit? obiit 8 Cal. Junii, an. ætatis suæ 86, Consecrationis 28, Ætæ Christianæ 1708.*" Willis's Cathedrals, 4to, 1742, vol. i. p. 726.

‡ Defence of our Constitution, by Nath. Marshall, 1717, 8vo, p. 165.

§ In one of Lloyd's letters to Sancroft, he says, "Last night I had the enclosed from R^d of Gl—r; who, I think, has made his peace, and

“ My deare Friend and Brother,

“ I perceive by H. G.* y^t I am out in my politics, and y^t *abundans cautela nocet q^m maximè*: for you and another deare friend of our's take y^t amisse [his silence] wth I intended for our comon safety. Well,—for y^e future I will offend noe more, but write you a thousand letters, if it will doe, provided y^t you assigne me the name of some one, y^t you can trust, and y^t is neare to y^e dwelling. Because H. G. is often in y^e country, and thereby my letters delayed. Write you to Mrs. Mary Powell in Glouster, whom I can trust with a thousand lives. Shee will surely deliver it.

“ As for y^e letters betwixt me and D. F. [Dean Fowler] this is y^e account. He wrote to me about his election, his great unwillingnesse to accept, his care to prevent, and mighty grieffe wth he could not doe it. I to him thus, ‘ My most deare friend, for now I may call you foe more justly than ever, wth you have got, and I lost, all :’ adding y^t I believed w^t he wrote concerning his uneasinesse, because by word of mouth, and in writing, he had assured me y^t he would never take w^t I lost : and y^t though *I would never make a voluntary resignation*, and liked noe more than Q. Elizabeth to heare of a successor, yet if he must be y^e man, I would not repine, provided y^t he did his utmost to suppress, 1st. Atheisme and prophanenes; 2ndy. y^t wicked spirit of Fanaticisme, wth would never be at rest, till it had ruined Church and State, nor then neither: 3rdy. y^t y^e poison of Socinianisme, which had not yet reach't these parts, might never doe it, noe not by his connivance, much lesse his ap-

D^r Fowler gives out, that he procur'd him his Vicaridge, with 200*l*. per annum, which is better than the 3rds of the Bishopricke.” He adds in a P.S., “I now finde what Mr. Bertye say'd to be true, of the Correspondence between R^t of Gl—r and Nottingham, London, and Fowler.” Tanner MSS, vol. xxvi. p. 57.

* H. G. was probably his long-tried friend, Mr. Henry Griffith, for whose character see Frampton's letter to Sancroft. Ibid. vol. xxvii. p. 228.

probation. *To which he replied in a great distemper; and I againe as pleasantly.* This is all as to y^e affaire.

“ True it is, y^e before this fell out, when I was openly reproacht by letters from London, and here in y^e country, y^e I had an hand in y^e letters sayd to be written by y^e B^p of Ely, I utterly difown’d it here, and did y^e same by letter to D. T., whom I knew to be [illegible] enough, and to some others, who would surely tell no Dogs of it; and y^e till better prooffe, I could not believe y^e they were written by y^e sayd B.; yet whether they were or noe, I was neither Art or Part in them, as the Scotchman phrazeth it: y^e I defy’d all men living y^e accused me: y^e I would come to London, wthout a Pursevant, to cleare myself at y^e bar: y^e I abhor’d to have my native country conquered by any foreigners wthsoever: y^e I never invited any such hither, and never would: y^e I was confident my Brethren were as innocent, as I knew my selfe to be. For all wth I hope y^e I have done noe wrong either to my friends, or my selfe, for it is consonant throughout with the *Vindication* from y^e calumnyes of y^e *Modest Enquiry*, in wth you and y^e rest did me the honour to take it for certaine y^e I would consent wth you, as I did, and doe wth all my heart.

“ You know there is an admirable man on the other side of y^e Thames [Sancroft at Lambeth] to whom I owe my best services, and delight to pay them. See y^e you tender them in my name, wth my utmost respects: to whom I would write frequently, if I knew how wthout doeing him hurt, y^e he may have an account of all my behaviour, thoughts, words, & actions; but then he must please by you to let me know how I shall superscribe my letters. And so commending him, you, y^e, and all our friends, to y^e good providence of God Almighty, I remaine,

“ Your most affectionate Friend,

“ Brother, and humble Servant,

“ *Idem qui pridem.*” *

other. You are utterly mistaken, if you looke for any more at present from

“Your’s, such as he is,

“N. G. T. W.*

(“*Not Gloucester to wit.*”)

Lloyd sent this letter to Sancroft, who says,

“I return you wth thanks y^e pleasant Epistle of o^r dear Brother, who in truth is as very an *εἰσὸς* as ever old Socrates was, and a better philosopher, and infinitely a better man. If he y^e is to go to York, had the perusal of it, it might convince him that we [Non-jurors] are not all peevish and morose, and illnatur’d; but y^e some of us enjoy as great calm and serenity as they in their ill-gotten grandeur.”†

There is a touching letter from Frampton to Sancroft among the Tanner MSS., too long for full insertion; but we cannot forego two or three passages, which exhibit his Christian contentment and charity under the injurious treatment of others:

“As for my selfe and my concernes, for I am sure (that mean as they, and I are) your Grace will not be displeased to heare from my mouth that, God be blessed, they are as easy as mine owne heart could wish; that though I do not abound, yet I want noe manner of thing that is necessary; that, if I did, my friends, who are very numerous, are ready to supply me bountyfully; that they have offered it oft and oft, which yet I have modestly declined, that I may not rob them who have more need of such supplies.

“That this change of mine hath done me a great deale of good, having made me, as I hope, a much better man than I was, or perhaps without it should have ever bin; that my meditations are more pure, and my prayers more fervent than heretofore; that having never bin much in love with

* Dr. Williams’s MS. Collection.

† Ibid.

the world, this hath made a perfect cure, and taught me utterly to despise it; in short, that I am as cheerefull as ever, and confesse with holy David, that it was *good for me, that I have bin in trouble.*

"Mine adverfaries alsoe, who, God be prayfed, are but few, yet malicious enough, have furnisht me with one advantage, and a great one, whereby, they make me their superiour; for I can, and doe forgive them with all mine heart, and pray to God, that he would please to doe foe too; which grace they cannot exercise towards me, for I have done them all good in my tyme, and would again, if I were able, never any wrong, nor never meane to doe them any."*

Many years after his deprival (in February, 1699) he writes to Bishop Lloyd,

"Please to take notice y^t I have received the ringe in memory of the good, brave B^p of Peterborough, deceased, and have taken care for the keeping of it safely, in *æternam rei memoriam*, if it were possible, at least as long as human prudence can devize: and so much I pray you to acquaint our good Brother of Ely with, to whom, as also to our other Brother of Bath and Wells, when you see him, my heartfelt respects, not forgetting Madam Philomela. I gave

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxxv. fol. 364. Sancroft mentions to Lloyd the receipt of this letter: "I had lately a very kind letter frō o^r good Brother Robert of Glouc^r. He is as chearfull under this p^rsecution, as y^e Birds are y^e sing sweetest in winter. And yet he hath lately lain under y^e persecution of the Tongue too,"—and then he gives an extract. Mr. Robert Nelson, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Humfrey Wanley, speaks of this "persecution of the tongue," against Frampton, and says, "Pray, let Dean Hikes know, that I have received a letter from Bishop Frampton, who saies all the stories y^e are told of him in print are wicked lies. He has taken no oath, nor has any been offered him; neither has he any aimes or hopes of any preferments,—his own, out of which he was cast, or any better. The best in England, or in Europe, are not able to move him in the least: his hopes are placed on things above, not beneath. I give you his own words, and all that he writ me concerning my enquiry." Teale's Lives of English Laymen, p. 274.

her that new name when her Father, B^p of Ely, was standing by, for her excellent skill in music, both of voyce and instrumentall.

“ And, to give you *a Rowland for your Oliver*, about the trayter of a servant, who hath perverted a thousand pounds, *plus minus*, of his deceased glorious master’s ;—will you take notice of a second deprivation, y^t I, whilst yet alive, am fallen under, not by a faithlesse servant, but by a friend as faithlesse, one that I could have trusted with my life, as well as my mony, and thought it safe in his hands : for our acquaintance was of long standing and intimate, both at home and abroad. Yet he, forgetting all, playes fast and loose with me, to y^e sum of 350*l*. Y^e whole sum, after I had forgiven him 50*l*., was 400*l*. With much adoe I got 50*l*. out of his hands : the rest is *sub judice*. Judge Powell, a noble friend of mine, who I am sure will doe w^t he can to recover it, first amicably, and if y^t will not doe, then by dint of law : an hard chapter, you’ll say, for me, putting his bond in suits, to my mighty regret.

“ But God’s will be done on me and mine. Y^e losse of it shall never breake my heart, sleep, or that peace of mind which I enjoy, and hope still to enjoy through His mercy. The same mercy keep you, my dear Brother, from such disasters, and give you comfort in all things. But what comfort can you or I take in any earthly thing, when the name, and honour, and dignity of our deare Saviour, is so vilified by lewd wretches & apostates, in London, as I heare it is by two letters thence. Y^e weather is wondrous cold, and if these rascals, or abettors, want a fire in Smithfield, let ’em send for me to make them one ; by God’s grace I would in death itself owne, & glorifye what they deride.

“ Farewell, my dearest. Pray for

“ Yours unfeinedly, and for ever,

“ ROBERT FRAMPTON, GLOUSTER.”*

“ Feb. 9, 1.”

* Dr. Williams’s Collection of Original Letters.

It is difficult to know where to stop, in turning over these most natural and spirited letters; but we must do so after the following to Bishop Lloyd,—an appropriate conclusion, as it shows how well prepared the writer was for his final release, and that eternal rest, to which he ardently aspired.

“ May 12, 1703.

“ My good Lord and dearest Brother :

“ Behold here, in pure obedience to your L^d will, a letter from me, such an one as it is, and may well be supposed to be, when I am not only superannuated, having passed my fourscorth yeare, and mightily burthened with such infirmities as soe great an age may be supposed to be.

“ But be these things as they will, or rather as my good Maker pleaseth, it is not in the power of tyme, or outward accidents, to alter y^e inward disposition of my soule, God be blessed for it, and by His grace it never shall be. Noe, I love Him above all things with my whole heart and soule—next to Him all good men and women in y^e world, because they beare His image. Especially my noble friends, such as your good L^d and y^e two most Honourable persons whom you mention. I hate noe one person in the world, not those that have done me most wrong. Am as content as any man alive can be, want nothing that is necessary, though my superfluities are passed away. Also am willing to leave this world, soe soon as my blessed Maker pleaseth. Only sorry that I cannot lay down my life by way of martyrdome for His sake. Pray you for me that my exit hence, and my being for ever after, may be happy to me.

“ This I pray for you, for them, and for all others.

“ Farewell. Yours most unfeignedly,

“ ROBERT FRAMPTON, once B. G.*

* Frampton's Will is a remarkable one: it is dated in February, 1702, and was proved in November, 1703. “ In it he is only styled

"I daily aske God's pardon for w^t hath bin amisse in my life, and would do it day by day, if I were to live a thousand years more."

Such was Bishop Frampton. Unwavering stedfastness of faith was his strength: simple-hearted, and careful for his flock, he never placed them in any difficulty, but kept them true to the Church, though they were under the rule of an intruder. His cheerful and benevolent disposition, blending with a Christian boldness, was so kindred to the temper of Ken, that we cannot wonder they should have such an esteem for each other, as their letters always express. The circumstances of Ken's earlier life had brought his natural gifts and powers into more prominent view, and placed him in a wider range of usefulness. But Frampton was in heart and act an equally devoted confessor to the sacred cause of his Heavenly Master.

Robert Frampton, of Standish, in Gloucester Diocese, without any title; he bequeathed therein an 100*l.* to one who had been his servant above thirty years; 10*l.* to Pimperne poor, Co. Dorset, where he was born; 10*l.* to Fountmill and Okeford, where he was Minister; 10*l.* to Turnwood, where he had taught school; 100*l.* to promote the Gospel in foreign parts; 100*l.* to Deprived Ministers; and 100*l.* to poor Servitors at Christ Church, Oxford, where he had been brought up." Willis's Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 726.



CHAPTER XXVII.

Ken survives all the other deprived Bishops—Controversy among the Non-jurors—Ken recommends all to conform to the Church—Hickes, Wagstaffe, Collier, and others refuse.



ON the 1st of January, 1710, Ken was left the only deprived Bishop, by the death of his friend, Dr. William Lloyd, of Norwich.* The warm attachment of such a man as Sancroft, might alone assure us of Lloyd's high qualities: and although we cannot applaud the part he took in perpetuating the Schism among the Non-jurors, his firmness, his piety, and candour, command our respect. As he lived in

* In Willis's *Cathedrals*, 4to, 1742, vol. ii. p. 509, we have the following particulars of his life:

"William Lloyd, S. T. P., born in North Wales, at Langower, C^o Merioneth, near Bala, where his Father was Minister. St. John's Coll., Cambridge; Vicar of Battersea, C^o Surrey; Chaplain to the English Merchants Factory at Portugal, and also to L^d Treasurer Clifford; Prebendary of Caddington Minor in St. Paul's, London; B^p of Landaff; elected to Peterborough, 1679, to the great misfortune of the Church of Landaff, where he was an excellent active Bishop, and a generous promoter of the welfare of that Cathedral, which has, since his leaving it, been most miserably neglected. He was, after he had sat here six years, removed to Norwich, 1685. Upon his deprivation (on 1st February, 1690) he retired to Hammer Smith, died January 1, 1709, aged 72, and was buried in the Bellfry, or Tower of that Church, which is reckoned a Chapel of Ease to Fulham, *without any memorial*." It is remarkable that Lloyd, White of Peterborough, and Ken, had no epitaphs placed on their graves: and Turner of Ely only one expressive word, *EXPERGISCAR*, which applies, and will be fulfilled, to us all.

the immediate neighbourhood of London, he was the leader of his party. Sancroft writes to him on one occasion,

“ Thus my dear L. while others of us scamper away into y^e Wilderness, where they can find their convenience; remaining some beyond Jordan, others in y^e ships, or on y^e sea-shore; you still jeopard y^r to y^e utmost in the high places of y^e Field, fixing y^r there in the very point of danger, as y^e center of Unity, filling y^e whole circumference wth y^e care, & bringing forth daily those y^e handle y^e pen of y^e writer. God cover y^e Head in y^e Time of Danger, & remember you concerning this, and blot not out y^e kindnesses, and good deeds to y^e House of God. Amen.”*

What, now, was the part which Ken would take? was the immediate question that occurred to every one. There was not a moment's hesitation in his mind. Having long since acquiesced in Hooper's succession to Bath and Wells, and so often expressed a desire that the Schism should be healed, he rejoiced in the opportunity which was now afforded of bringing back the Non-jurors to the Church. Five years before this the watchful, and ever diligent Henry Dodwell, had foreseen the time when the Sees of the deprived Bishops would become void by death or resignation: and accordingly wrote a book, called “*The Case in View*,” to prepare the Non-jurors for their return to the bosom of the Church.† Hitherto the whole

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† *A Case in View* considered: in a Discourse, proving that (in case our present invalidly deprived Fathers, shall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Resignation) we shall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from those Bishops, who are as yet involved in the Guilt of the present unhappy Schism. By Henry Dodwell, M.A., 8vo, 1705.

party, or as he calls them, "*our little flock*," had agreed in asserting the spiritual rights of the deprived, and many had abstained from holding communion with their rival Bishops, or the clergy who adhered to them. But now, if Ken should absolutely forego his Episcopal Rights, there could be no ground for continuing the separation. This was the opinion of Dodwell, Nelson, Brokesby, and others, because as there were no longer any dispossessed Bishops, they who had been appointed to their sees, though originally schismatical, in consequence of the uncanonical depositions, were now valid Prelates: they had been *nulli*, because *secundi*; but this nullity having ceased, it was the duty of all to acknowledge their authority. "There will now," says Dodwell, "be no seconds, but only single persons, in actual possession of the episcopal jurisdictions, whereof no more than one at once can be lawfully possessed. Here, therefore, there can be no Schism, where there is no altar against altar." *

On the other hand, Hickes, Wagstaffe, Collier, and Brett held, that the new Bishops, having once violated the principles of the Church, in accepting the sees of the deprived, had been guilty of Schism, and so rendered themselves incapable: that, in the sense of the primitive Church, any overt act of Schism needs no judicial sentence of deprivation;—from that time forward they ceased to be true Bishops, for having been destroyers of the unity of the Spirit, they thereby lost all their rights: that, in order to recover their

* Dodwell's "*Case in View*," p. 28.

forfeited unity, they must make an acknowledgment of error, and be restored by consent of the Church. Therefore until they made satisfaction, and publicly renounced the doctrines by which they had maintained the Schism, and obtained reconciliation, they were not to be accounted as in communion. In short, they were to confess themselves to have been intruders, and the deceased Bishops to have been the only rightful possessors of the sees, and wrongfully deprived. If they would not do this, all who would keep clear of Schism and heresy ought to refuse to communicate with them.*

Dodwell, in a subsequent work,† answered these objections in his elaborate and exhaustless vein. In the course of this new controversy, which like most others led to some sharp reproaches, and personal reflections on both sides, it came to be generally known that Hickes and Wagstaffe had been appointed by Lloyd as his suffragans to Thetford and Ipswich. This fact had till now been carefully concealed, for fear the parties might incur the penalty of the law. Dodwell and his friends, who maintained that the original Schism was at an end, denied the validity of the clandestine consecrations. If Lloyd, before his deprivation, had no authority to appoint suffragans, he could have still less afterwards, when another was in possession of his see. There was no evidence brought forward to authenticate these consecrations: Hickes and Wagstaffe had

* The Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism, considered. 1716, 8vo.

† *A Further Prospect of the Case in View*, in Answer to some New Objections not there Considered. 8vo, 1707.

not been put into possession of any particular church, nor advanced any claim of jurisdiction. They did not even now do so: all they pretended to was a spiritual succession. Yet they held that "the true Church Regent, or College of Bishops, and the true Church of England depending upon it, are in the little, and faithful, suffering number, and will be in those, who regularly succeed them in the royal priesthood, unto the end of the world." * The claim was imaginary—the prophecy unfulfilled, as the event proved.

On the death of Lloyd, Dodwell's redundant stores of learning were poured out once more in maintaining the necessity of re-union with the Church.† Ken did not embark in these discussions: but his sentiments were promptly expressed by the part that he took. Within ten days after the death of Lloyd, he received a communication from Dodwell, the substance of which is explained in the following letters, one of them evidently addressed to

"ROBERT NELSON.

"Shottesbrook, Jan. 11, 1709-10.

"Worthy Sir,

"I have received yours, and have already written to my Lord of Bath and Wells, as the only Survivor of the invalidly deprived Bishops, and as *thereby having it in his power to free, not only his private Diocese, but the whole National Church from the Schism* introduced by filling the Sees,

* Constitution of the Catholic Church, p. 103.

† See his "*Case in View now in Fact*," proving the continuance of a Separate Communion, without Substitutes in any of the late invalidly-deprived Fathers, since the death of William, late Lord Bishop of Norwich, is Schismatical. With an Appendix, &c."

which were no otherwise empty than by the invalid Deprivations, &c. * * *

“ If my Lord of Bath and Wells declare that he will not so far insist on his right, as to justify our Separate Communions upon his account ; we must then enquire, whether any Claim appear derived from his deceased Brethren, for keeping any one See full, which had been otherwise vacant by their death ; and what evidence appears for supporting that Claim ; and whether that evidence be satisfactory.

* * * *

“ I am, your affectionate Friend,

“ And humble Servant,

“ HENRY DODWELL.” *

“ Shottebrook, March 2, 1709-10.

“ Sir,

“ Since the decease of my Lord of Norwich, I have written to the excellent Bishop Ken, as the last Survivor of the invalidly deprived Bishops, and have received his answer ; as I have also seen another answer to another Person, who consulted him on the same occasion. *Both are very full in owning his not insisting on his just Rights.*

“ By these, therefore, and other informations, we are here fully satisfied, that there is not now any longer any Altar in our National Church opposite to another Altar of the same Church, which can justify the continuance of the Separation. *Accordingly our two families here were at Church on February the 26, the first Sunday in Lent.* But there are several who still scruple the prayers. Endeavours are, however, using that this Difference of Practice may make as little animosities in our Flock as may be ; whose endeavours will deserve the Prayers of all who desire the good, as well as the Peace, of

* A Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, by Nath. Marshall, 8vo, 1717. Appendix, p. ix.

this afflicted Church. And I hope your Father and you will not be wanting in your's.

"Your affectionate Brother,

"HENRY DODWELL."*

It fortunately happens that Ken's precise words in answer to Dodwell, are preserved in a letter from the Rev^d Francis Brokesby, who writes to a friend;

"Shottesbrook, March 5, 1709-10.

"Sir,

"Mr. Dodwell's eyes being very weak, and hence it being a trouble to him to write, it falls to my lot to give you his thoughts in answer to yours: which province I willingly embrace to gratifie both him and you; you both being my honored friends, whom I am obliged to serve in a greater matter, if it lay in my power.

"I shall first give you a copy of the pious Bishop Kenn's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, which may give you some satisfaction in the Case which follows:

"In that you are pleased to ask me, whether I insist on my Episcopal Claim? My answer is, that I do not, and that I have no reason to insist on it, in regard that I made a Cession to my present most worthy Successor, who came into the Fold by my free Consent and Approbation. As for any *clandestine* Claim, my judgement was always against it, foreseeing that it would perpetuate a Schism, which I found very afflicting to good People scattered in the Country, where they could have no divine Offices performed. I was always tender of the Peace of the Church, especially in this Age of Irreligion; I always thought that *Multitudo Peccantium* might justify some relaxation of Canonical Strictness!'

"When there is such a Cession, what need of a Resigna-

* A Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, by Nath. Marshall, 8vo, 1717. Appendix, p. xiii.

tion? and if this was requisite, to what Archbishop could it be made? Or what Synod or Church is there now, to which recourse should be made to grant its Consent? We are here satisfied the Schism is at an end, when there is no Altar against Altar, nor any other Bishops but Suffragans to require our Subjection. And therefore we go all to Church.

* * * *

“I am, yours,

“FRA. BROKESBY.” *

Robert Nelson also put the same question direct to Ken, and received an answer to the same purport, which he thus communicates to some person, who wished to know what was doing;

“Sir,

“In order to satisfy your enquiry, I can acquaint you that I have received a letter from Bishop Ken, who assures me;

“‘That he was always against that practice which he foresaw would perpetuate the Schism, and declared against it, and that he had acted accordingly, and would not have it laid at his door, having made a recess (as he says) for a much more worthy person; and he apprehends it was always the judgement of his Brethren, that the death of the Canonical Bishops would render the Invaders Canonical, in regard the Schism is not to last always.’

“Afterwards his Lordship adds this;

“‘I presume Mr. Dodwell, and others with him, go to Church, tho’ I myself do not, being a publick person; but to communicate with my Successor, in that part of the Office which is unexceptionable, I should make no difficulty.’

“This letter I communicated to Mr. Dodwell, when in

* A Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, by Nath. Marshall, 8vo. 1717. Appendix, p. xvii.

town, which he thought clear enough for closing the Schism, and I suppose in a short time he may have one to the same purpose.

* * * *

“Your faithful humble Servant,

“ROB. NELSON.”*

These answers determined the majority of the Non-jurors to return to the bosom of the Church. Nelson and Dodwell, of whom the former was always called the “pious Mr. Nelson,” acted as became lovers of peace; they went to Church with their families on the 26th of February, 1710, being the first Sunday in Lent. Their example was followed by Brookesby, Cherry, and others. The event is thus recorded by Thomas Hearne :

“The most pious, humble, meek, and truly reverend, as well as learned Bishop Lloyd, of Norwich, dying lately, and there being now no Non-juring or deprived Bishop that insists upon his rights, and the Schism, therefore, being closed, according to the principles of ‘*The Case in View*,’ and the best books that have been written on that subject, Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Cherry, &c., with their whole families, now go to Church again, to the great joy of all that are concerned for Union. Mr. Dodwell was at Church, with Mr. Cherry, and both their wives and children on Sunday last, *and the bells were rung upon that occasion*. This was at Shottesbrooke, in Berks.”†

We can understand how joyful the event must have been to them. What is our home, what all the

* A Defence of our Constitution in Church and State, by Nath. Marshall, 8vo, 1717. Appendix, p. xv.

† Reliquiæ Hearnianæ: 1608^o, p. 186.

possessions of the earth, compared with the gladness of joining in the public worship of God ?

“ Of all the places here
None pictures the celestial sphere
More than God's house of pray'r,
When faithful souls sing praises there :
When heav'n and earth conspire
In one harmonious hymning Quire.
O may we, free from wilful, sensual taints,
Live in communion with supernal Saints.”*

Mr. Lathbury,† in his valuable “ History of the Non-jurors,” has elaborately traced the after-wanderings of those who persisted in the Schism. Their great leader was Dr. George Hickes, one of the most erudite men of his day. No one better understood the doctrines, constitution, and discipline of the Church in the purest ages of Christianity, or was more thoroughly persuaded that the Anglican Church was their most perfect example. His writings are principally controversial, both in politics and religion. Among these last we have his excellent treatise, “ *Speculum Beatæ Virginis*,” a “ Vindication of the Church of England,” and many others, against the errors of Rome. He was well known to foreigners, as the author of learned works on the language, and antiquities, of the Saxon, Danish, and other northern nations, in which he was profoundly versed. Yet we see in him a signal instance of the wanderings into which many are led, notwithstanding their personal holiness, and their learn-

* Ken's Poems, vol. i. p. 409.

† Author also of a “ History of the Convocation of the Church of England :” and of “ A History of the English Episcopacy, from 1640 to 1662,” &c. &c.

ing. His acute intellect, unconsciously swayed by the sympathies of his mind, drew finely spun webs of colourable distinctions, of which he became so enamoured, as to sacrifice the dearest objects of his life, and all his long-formed, and soundest convictions, rather than break one thread on which his new and feeble system depended.

Wagstaffe having died in the midst of the controversy, Hickes considered himself the only true Bishop of England. In order to continue the "valid succession," he called to his aid two of the Non-juring Bishops of Scotland. These three consecrated Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes, to a nominal Episcopate. It might have been expected that, professing a zealous attachment to the sacred cause of unity, they would be ready to forego something of their own will to maintain it. But where, in the infinite diversities of theological opinion, is unity to be found on earth? Hickes, Collier, and the others, now began to affirm that "The Order of administration of the Holy Communion" in the Church of England was faulty, because it differed from the first Book of Edward VI., and was not accordant with primitive usage. They would, therefore, restore the Mixed Cup, the Prayer for the Dead, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the sacramental Elements, and the Prayer of Oblation to express that the Eucharist is a Proper Sacrifice.

Hickes shortly afterwards died, and Collier took the lead: but his views of the Communion Office were opposed by his two brother Bishops, Hawes and Spinckes,—also by Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford, who afterwards were consecrated to the Non-juring Episco-

pate. On the other hand he was supported by Brett, the Scotch Bishop Campbell, and others. To maintain the soundness of his views, Collier published a book, entitled "REASONS for restoring some prayers in the Communion Service." This was answered by "No sufficient REASONS for restoring," &c. Then came a "Defence of the REASONS." After that, "No necessity to alter the Common Prayer, being a full Answer to the 'REASONS,'" &c. Then followed "The necessity to alter the Common Prayer, being a Reply to the 'No Necessity,' with a Vindication of the 'REASONS,' and 'Defence,'" &c. And still the series proceeded with no settlement of the question in dispute.

The works of learned Mr. Thomas Brett, who had already entered the lists, are of extreme interest. In order to prepare his readers for his arguments in favour of the restored usage of Edward VI., he embodied in his work copies of all the ancient Liturgies,* beginning with the Clementine, which was prior to the Council of Nicæa. Though he very fully exposes the innovations of the Roman Missal on the primitive office, he did not escape the imputation of Popery. The same charge was made against Collier, with as little foundation. It is, indeed, difficult to say of what communion they were: they denounced the Roman, and disavowed the Anglican,—published their own Service-book, and at length issued

* Collection of the different Liturgies, with a Dissertation upon them. 1720, 4to. A Dissertation on the principal Liturgies used by the Christian Church in the celebration of the Eucharist. 1720, 8vo.

a prohibition against holding communion with any who adhered to the "Book of Common Prayer." Having already thrown off their allegiance to the English Church, it was natural they should disregard her Liturgy; nor can we be surprised that they ended in denying her Catholicity. The Book of Prayer is part of her order of discipline, as well as an exposition of doctrine, and without discipline no community, whether ecclesiastical, or secular, can maintain unity or life. If every Priest, according to his own views and private interpretation, may set up his standard of ministrations, where is to be drawn the limit of conformity?

The history of these later Non-jurors shows the inconsistencies in which men may be involved by blending together a scarcely restrained exercise of private judgment with an indiscriminate reverence of antiquity. Estranged by their scruples of conscience from the Church of England, and sincerely opposed to the errors of Rome, they sought a refuge from their self-imposed isolation in the arms of the Greek Church. No part of Mr. Lathbury's work is more interesting than his detailed account of their negotiations with the Patriarchs, and Bishops of the East, in the hope of effecting an union. It is clear, throughout, that the only terms on which the Greek Church would receive them into communion, were those of perfect conformity to the doctrines and ritual of the East. The Patriarchs designate the opinions of the "*suffering Catholic Bishops of the old Constitution of Britain*," (as the Non-jurors styled themselves) relative to the Eucharist, as blasphemous, being opposed to Tran-

substantiation."* They require them to receive consecration at their hands; and as to their proposal for the adoption of the Liturgy of King Edward VI., they reply,

"The Oriental orthodox Church acknowledges but one Liturgy, the same which was delivered down by the Apostles, but written by the first Bishop of Jerusalem, James, the brother of God, and afterwards abbreviated, upon account of its length, by the great Father, Basil, and afterwards again epitomized by John, the golden-tongued Patriarch of Constantinople, which from the times of Basil, and Chrysostom, until now, the Oriental orthodox Church receives, and uses every where, and by them [meaning the three versions of St. James's Liturgy] administers the Unbloody Sacrifice in every Church of the orthodox. It is proper therefore that they who are called the 'remnant of primitive piety,' should, when they are united to us, make use of those, that in this point also there may be no discord between us; but that they, as well as we, should on proper days officiate by the Liturgy of St. Basil, and daily by that of St. Chrysostom."†

The Non-jurors objected to Transubstantiation, to the Seven Sacraments, to the Invocation of the Virgin, Saints, and Angels, and to receiving the Seven General Councils as of equal authority with the Scriptures, "for they could not believe the Fathers of those Councils were assisted by an equal degree of inspiration with the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles. And as to the Seventh General Council, assembled at Nice, they thought themselves obliged to declare that they could not assent to the giving even

* Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors, p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 322.

the worship *Dulia* to Angels or departed Saints." The Patriarchs replied to the Non-jurors, that these disagreements were not to be wondered at, for, being born and educated in the principles of the *Lutheran Calvinists*, and possessed with their prejudices, they tenaciously adhere to them, like ivy to a tree, and are hardly drawn off." *

At length, in 1723, after a long and interrupted correspondence, the Patriarchs sent their ultimatum, as the result of a Synod of the Greek Church. They state that "their doctrines had been decided upon, and that it is neither lawful to add anything to them, nor take anything from them: those who are disposed to agree with us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith must necessarily follow, and submit to, what has been defined, and determined by ancient Fathers, and Œcumenical Synods, from the time of the Apostles, and their holy Successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time. We say, they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any scruple or dispute. And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written." The letter was signed by the four Patriarchs, and several Archbishops and Bishops, dated September, 1723; and, that there might be no mistake as to what "the Catholic Remnant of Great Britain" were to adopt, they enclosed an Exposition of the Orthodox Faith of the Eastern Church, agreed upon in a Synod, called the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.† So ended the

* Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors, p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 350. In the course of this correspondence the Patriarchs

propofal. It feems ftrange that fo very fmall a number of Englifh Divines, having no jurifdiction in any portion of the Church Catholic, fhould for a moment entertain the project of binding to their own views the Patriarchs, Archbifhops, and Bifhops of “all the Oriental Churches of the orthodox Greeks, Ruffians, Iberians, Arabians, and many other orthodox nations.” But they had worked themfelves, ftep by ftep, to the full perfuafion that theirs was the true ftandard of the orthodox, and Catholic Faith. And though that ftandard had but lately been adopted by themfelves, they now felt it neceffary that all other minds fhould follow the fame track, to the fame point, and no further.

However mistaken might be this remnant of the party, it is impoffible not to reverence the Non-jurors, as a clafs. They do honour to the Englifh character: they endured the lofs of all temporal benefits in the caufe of, what feemed to them, to be neceffary truth;—their fervent piety, unbending courage, and felf-facrifice, fhed a luftre on their names. In the fpirit of the primitive Chriftians they

of the Eaft are not fparing in their cenfures of the “Pope of Rome;” they describe him to be “deceived by the devil, and falling into ftrange novel doctrines, as revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and cut off, toffed at a diftance with conftant waves and tempeft, till he return to our Catholic, Oriental, immaculate faith, and be reftituted from whence he was broken off.” They declare “the Purgatorial fire to have been invented by the Papifts to command the purfe of the ignorant, and we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction, and a doting fable, invented for lucre, and to deceive the fimple, and, in a word, has no exiftence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Holy Scriptures, or Fathers, whatfoever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary.”

were prepared to suffer all extremities in defence of Catholic principles: and this in an ultra-Protestant age, when a false liberalism seemed to claim for each man the right of shaping immutable truth according to his own conceptions. But there has never been a class of men more zealous in defence of the Church of England against the errors of Rome, which they combated with an array of learning far beyond that of after times.

The History of the early Martyrs, and Confessors, comes down to us, hallowed by the remoteness of their age: seen through the long vista of centuries, they are grand and venerable in our eyes. Yet they were feeble, and poor, and of mean appearance: it was that *within* which ennobled them;—their disregard of self, their immoveable steadfastness of purpose, their bright visions of faith, that led them to dare all for the love of God. It was their sense of the dignity of things spiritual, as a deposit in their hands, more precious than the wealth of kingdoms, which makes them illustrious. Thus it was, in their very humble sphere, with the despised company of Non-jurors, who will be cheering lights, and guiding beacons to all lovers of the Church of England, who are ever called upon to suffer for the cause of Truth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Ken's last Sickness—Death—and Burial. Conclusion.

HE Non-jurors continued to debate on Ken's last public act. Some thought his resignation "a strange humour,"—a compromise,—the abandonment of a noble pre-eminence, as the sole remaining canonical Bishop in England. They would have him declare against the whole national Church, as in a state of secession from the true Catholic faith. By others he was more than ever revered, for he had enabled them conscientiously to attend the public ordinances, without fear of Schism. He himself, meanwhile, was agonized with constant paroxysms of pain, which "was his familiar grown," haunting him day and night.* Death had marked him for his own: or, to speak more truly, God was graciously pleased to intimate to him that he should be gathered into His kingdom, and rest with the elect. We could not bear to dwell on this last suffering year of his eventful life, but that we have a full record from himself of the consolations which were vouchsafed to him:

"In Heav'n accounts of sighs are kept,
Of ev'ry tear that's wept;

* Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 457.

Saints feel the blessings back they bring,
 Swift as Angelic wing;
 The humble what they beg obtain,
 They never sigh in vain."*

The Hot Wells of Bristol, and of Bath, and all the remedies of the physicians, served, as he says, rather to irritate than relieve the "anguors," of more than one fatal complaint. Wheresoever he went, whatsoever he did, he bore about with him a living death.

Deeply affecting are those "*Anodynes, or Alleviations of Pain*," and "*Preparatives for Death*," in his volumes of poetry: for they reveal an intensity of unmitigated pains, endured with all Christian meekness in submissive, but anxious, hope and expectancy of his release. Writing and singing Hymns were his chief solace: they turned his moanings into "soft penitential sighs," his tears to the meekness of love:

"Ejaculations Heav'n-ward sent,
 Procure sweet ease, and sorrow vent,
 Why should I, then, my pains decline,
 Inflicted by pure Love divine?
 Let them run out their destin'd course,
 And spend upon me all their force;
 Short pains can never grievous be,
 Which work a blest Eternity."†

"Though on my cheerful wires I play,
 And sing seventimes a-day,
 My love shall ever keep on wing,
 Incessantly shall Heav'n-ward spring;
 Love the belov'd still keeps in mind,
 Loves all day long, and will not be confin'd."‡

He had long since expressed how entirely he felt

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 63.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 423.

‡ Ibid. p. 476.

loosened from the world,* "so that I have now nothing to do but to think of eternity," or, as he elsewhere expresses it,

"Have nought to do but pray, and love, and *die*."†

That word—"to *die*"—which to the natural man sounds awfully, awakened thoughts of freedom to Ken, longing for heavenly bliss, and armed with "Love Celestial." He looked upon Death as the "Fore-runner, and guide to Sion:"

"Though Death, the King of Terrours flil'd,
Fright souls, while here from Heav'n exil'd,
He's but a despicable thing,
A petty Tributary King
To Tyrant Sin, and to his Sire [Satan]
On his infernal Throne of Fire."‡

He speaks with grateful affection of friends who sympathize in his sufferings; but all their counsels, all their comforts, are vain. Then he turns to Jesus, whose mercies invite him to repent, who receives him in His arms, shelters him under His wings, and cancels all the debt against him. To Jesus he discloses all his wants, and reposes on His boundless Love, which softens the anguish of his trembling frame.

* Every concurring testimony of the period confirms this: "He made as much conscience of living peaceably under the Government of King William, and her present Majesty, as he did of his Oath to King James, and continued still in his retirement at my Lord Weymouth's, in Wiltshire, *exercising himself day and night in works of devotion, and piety*, 'till the great change came of translating him from this world to the state of endless felicity in the other." *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons, who died in the year 1711.* London, 8vo, 1712.

† Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 157

‡ Ibid. p. 75.

"The Love Celestial casts out fears;
 Love all tremendous woes endears;
 Love watches with a jealous eye
 Against all Rivals drawing nigh;
 Love gains of boundless Love the care
 By the sweet violence of Pray'r."*

The title of one of his "Preparatives for Death" is "*Jesus teaches to die*," and he bids his soul copy every line of the Divine Original;

"'Father, into Thy hands,' He cry'd,
 'My Spirit I commend;—and dy'd:'
 "Like Him my life I down will lay,
 It shall be giv'n, not snatch'd away."†

He now expresses himself more than ever conscious how near to him are the glories of the spiritual world: angels and saints seem to herald the message of his release; already 'twas but a flight veil which separated them from view. A blessed nearness—radiant, though unseen, to all who are not dull of understanding: for it shines like mid-day to the souls of believers:

"No language can reveal
 The pleasing trance which now I feel,
 My ease, my sleep, strange transports seem;
 Of everlasting joys I dream;
 Congratulate the blest,
 And long to share in Heavenly Rest." &c.

And again,

"Heaven's joys in miniature I see,
 From pain when a few moments free,
 Methinks I am entranc'd
 Into initial bliss advanc'd,
 And big with Hymn I glow,
 Wrapt blissfully with God below:
 From thence I guess th' immense delight
 Of the eternal beatifick sight."

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 77.

† Ibid. p. 84.

A little before his death, some kind friend left him a Legacy: therefore one of the most obvious duties he had to perform in some happy interval of ease, was to draw up his Will, for which his biographer Hawkins thus prepares the reader:

“ And lest any hereafter looking into his Will, and observing the Legacies therein bequeath'd, should determine that either he who left such Legacies could not be this describ'd *poor* man; or this man of *Charity* to have left more Legacies than effects; I think myself oblig'd to reconcile these seeming contradictions by a very easy explanation. For so little distrust had our present Princess on the Throne [Queen Anne] of any ill actions of this just and religious Bishop, so great an opinion of his honesty and quiet temper, that notwithstanding he could not be prevail'd with to qualify himself for living under her Protection, by the now necessary Oaths; yet she was glad he would not refuse her Yearly Favour, which she was graciously pleas'd to bestow on him to his Death, and would often complain it was too little for his thanks, which he dutifully sent her; which together with a Legacy given him a little before his Death, by a very valuable Friend of his, not only enabled him to do many acts of Charity in his Life-time (as what he chiefly propos'd by accepting it), but his executor likewise to discharge all such Legacies, as he thought fit to charge him with.” *

Hawkins gives no clue to the name of his valuable friend, or the amount of the legacy; but we can form a judgment on this last point by reference to the bequests (amounting to 445*l.*) which Ken was thus enabled to make in his own Will, of which the following is a copy:

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, pp. 40, 41.

"In the Name of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST,
ONE GOD, *Blessed for ever. Amen.*

"I Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, unworthy, being at present, thanks be to God, in perfect health, both of body and mind, doe make and appoint this my Last Will and Testament, in manner and form following ;

"I commend my Spirit into the Hands of my Heavenly Father and my body to the Earth, in certain hope, through Jesus, my Redeemer, of a happy Resurrection.

"As to my worldly goods, I desire my debts, if I leave any, may be first paid, and that done,

"I leave and bequeath to the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Viscount Weymouth, in case he outlives me, all my Books, of which his Lordship has not the Duplicates, as a memoriall of my gratitude for his signall and continued favors.

"I leave and bequeath to the Library of the Cathedrall at Wells all my Books of which my Lord Weymouth has the Duplicates, and of which the Library there has not : or, in case I outlive my Lord, I leave to the Library aforesaid to make choice of all of which they have not Duplicates ; and the remainder of my Books not chosen for the Library, I leave to be divided between my two Nephews, Isaac Walton, and John Beacham, excepting those books which I shall dispose of to others.*

* It is rather a curious circumstance, that of all these books, there are only two or three which have his name. One is in the Library at Longleat,—a copy of *DIOGENES LAERTIUS*,—on the Fly-leaf of which is this memorandum, in Ken's hand-writing,

"*Si invenero Gratiam in oculis Domini, reducet me. Si autem dixerit mihi, non places, Presto sum, faciat quod bonum est coram se.*

"THO. KEN."

Bowles mentions a small Greek Testament, "*Amstelodami, apud Gulielmum Blaeu, 1633,*" on the Blank-leaf of which the following notices are written ;

"Guil. Coker, ex dono clarissimi viri Thomas Ken."

"Char. Coker."

"I give and bequeath to my Sister Ken the sum of Ten pounds. To my niece Krienberg the sum of Fifty pounds.

"I give and bequeath to my Nephew, John Beacham, the sum of Fifty pounds, and to my Nephew, William Beacham, the sum of Forty pounds.

"I give and bequeath to my Nephew, Isaac Walton, the sum of Ten pounds, and to my Niece Hawkins, his sister, the sum of Ten pounds, and to her daughter, Ann Hawkins,

"Ex dono Car. Sutton Coker."

"Ad Episcopatum Bath et Wellen: A.D. 1685, erecti; ab eodem, anno 1690, ejecti. J. Beavor."

"This book, from it's having been the Manual of that great and good man, Bishop Ken, is invaluable. G. H., Bath and Wells.—Wells, 1829."

Thus, the book appears to have been given by Ken, to Dr. William Coker, a Physician in Winchester;—to have passed out of that family to Dr. Beavor, Rector of Trent, in Somersetshire, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and from his possession into that of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. George Henry Law. Bowles, who had seen the book, says, "So familiar was Ken with the sublime chapter on the Resurrection, that at this present day—so many years since—the small volume opens generally of it's own accord at the 15th chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians." Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 93.

Several years ago, Mr. Thomas Kerlake, of Bristol, bought at a miscellaneous furniture auction, at Cricklade, another "Pocket Greek Testament," which had belonged to Ken, and which he thus entered in his Book Catalogue for the year 1849;

"5354. Bp. KEN's POCKET GREEK TESTAMENT:—NOVUM TESTAMENTUM, Gr. CURCELLÆI, Amst., Elzevir., 1658, 18mo., in the old black fish-skin, with silver corners, with a most interesting autograph of that eminent Christian Soldier, 7l. 7s.

"On one of the fly leaves is written:—"T. K.—Tu Grande illud qd in terris Quæsi—Et inveni—PHAR: FIENNES." (See *who Pharamus Fienes was in COLLINS*, by BRYDGES, vol. vii. p. 25.)—

"On the opposite leaf:—"Et tu Quæris tibi Grandia? Noli Quærere.—THO: KEN."—under which, in Greek,—1 Tim. iv. 15. and 1 Cor. iv. 6."

This interesting volume is in the possession of Mr. Serjeant Merewether, to whom it was presented, on his birth-day in 1849, by his son, Henry Alworth Merewether, Esq., Q.C. I am much indebted to the learned and good Serjeant for the trouble he has taken, to trace the history of this book, and of the Bishop's watch, before referred to.

the sum of Fifty pounds, and to her son, William Hawkins, the sum of Fifty pounds, and to my Niece, Elizabeth Hawkins, the sum of Twenty pounds, to be paid to her on the day of marriage, or when my executor shall see it most for her advantage.

“ I give and bequeath to the English Deprived Clergy the sum of Fifty pounds ; to the Deprived Officers the sum of Forty pounds, and to the Deprived Scotch Clergy the sum of Fifty pounds.

“ To the poor of the parish where I am buried the sum of Five pounds, and to my servant who shall be with me at my death the sum of Ten pounds.

“ I bequeath to the Library at Bath all my French, Italian, and Spanish Books.

“ I leave and bequeath to my very worthy dear Friend, Mrs. Margaret Mathew, dwelling in Caerdiff, my wooden Cup lined with gold, and Lord Clarendon's History, in six volumes in red Turkey guild.

“ I bequeath my little Patin and Chalice* guild, to the Parish where I am buried, for the use of sick persons who desire the Holy Sacrament.

“ As for my Religion, I die in the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Faith, professed by the whole Church, before the disunion of East and West : more particularly I dye in the *COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*, as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan Innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.

“ I beg pardon of all whom I have any way offended : and I entirely forgive all those who have any ways offended me. I acknowledge myself a very great and miserable Sinner ; but dye in humble confidence, that on my repentance I shall be accepted in the Beloved.

“ I appoint my Nephew, William Hawkins, to be my sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, who I know

* These are still preserved in Frome Church.

will observe the directions punctually, which I leave for my Buriell.

“Witness my hand and Seal,

“THOMAS BATH & WELLS, Depr.”

“Signed and delivered in the presence of

“FRA. GREEN=JO. JENKINS.”*

A remarkable circumstance should be mentioned, which is truly characteristic of the man, and shows the faint-like temper in which he kept the thought of death fixed and familiar in his mind. The reader will, perhaps, remember the passage in Izaak Walton's *Life of Dr. John Donne*, describing how that holy man caused a choice Painter to draw his picture in a winding-sheet, which

“He had put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrouded and put into their coffin, or grave. Thus he was painted, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned towards the East, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object to his death.”†

In the same reverent spirit Ken had long prepared his own winding-sheet to be his constant companion, and monitor of Death: Hawkins says, “*he had travelled for many years with his Shroud in his portmantua, which he often said, ‘might be as soon wanted*

* Bowles, in his *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 306 to 309, has given a copy of the Will: it was proved, 24th April, 1711.

† Major's Edit. of *Walton's Lives*, 1825, p. 72.

as any other of his habiliments.”* We shall see, that he had also another purpose in this, besides the constant *memento mori*,—which was, to prevent any exposure of his person after death. There was a sentiment in this, deeper than common, and in harmony with his character. Through life he had dedicated his virgin body to God; so in death he would have it consigned to the earth with a modest reserve, as something entitled to honour; it was “the seat of the soul,” the temple of the Holy Ghost, which had so often partaken of the holy Elements, and should hereafter be raised a glorified body, and re-united to its kindred spirit;

“Though soul and flesh shall parted be,
They’ll meet in blest Eternity.”†

There are several passages in the Poems expressive of his thoughts on this reunion at

“*The Resurrection.*”

“Great day! to mortals kept unknown,
When the Arch-Angel from the Throne
Shall on his radiant wings appear,
And hov’ring o’er this lower sphere,
His Trumpet blow, whose mighty sound
Shall undulate the Globe around:
All sep’rate souls, where’er they dwell,
In the Out-courts of Heaven or Hell,
Soon as they hear, shall summons have
To fly to each appropriate Grave,
And their corporeal form resume,
To wait their everlasting Doom.”‡

In his “*Preparatives for Death*,” we have a clear exposition of this scriptural doctrine of

* Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 44.

† Ken’s Poems, vol. iv. p. 47.

‡ Ibid. p. 45.

"The State of Separation,"

which is the title of one of those poems. The body, he says, dissolves to earth from whence it sprung,—the soul returns to its Maker :

" And there God on the Soul will shine,
Some Mansion for her will assign ;
While all the sep'rate Souls in bliſs
Salute her with a peaceful kiſs,
And a triumphant hymn begin
For her eſcape from woe, and ſin.

" Yet faithful Souls are but half bleſt,
Till glorious bodies them inveſt ;
They live in acquieſcence ſweet,
Till they have happineſs compleat,
Would not compleatly happy be,
Till God the moment ſhall decree.

" Saints thus Celeſtial joys foretaſte,
And when their vital ſpirits waſte,
While gently death lays fleſh aſleep,
Their ſouls celeſtial vigils keep ;
They Jeſus ſee, they hear His voice,
They wakefully love—hymn—rejoice." *

"The Saints with Jeſus."

" Soul, when your fleſh diſſolves to duſt,
To God's ſafe hands yourſelf entruſt ;
Be not too curious to enquire,
Where to aſpire ;

" Whether to Paradife you fly,
Or in bleſſ'd Abram's boſom lye,
Or to that orb your flight you raiſe,
Where Enoch ſtays.

" Or to the third Celeſtial ſphere,
Where wonders Paul was wrapt to hear,
Or Hades bleſſ'd, where ſouls Eleſt
Full Bliſs expect.

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 91.

"Bless'd Jesus, boundless Bliss divine
 On you in miniature will shine,
 Glory for glory, beam for beam,
 Will on you stream.

"A Crown, a Throne at God's right hand,
 Where Saints their robes of light expand,
 Where Saints are Kings, and on their State
 High angels wait.

"Such blessings on the Saints attend,
 When Jesus-like they Heav'n ascend,
 The LAMB, of joys the boundless Spring,
 They'll ever sing.

"Death our Fore-runner is, and guides
 To *Sion*, where the LAMB abides;
 There Saints enjoy extatic Rest
 In mansions blest."*

Touching, and melting to the highest degree are his "*Anodynes, or Alleviations of Pain*," with which he soothed his excruciated frame;—amidst dolorous cries of suffering, and penitential tears and prayers for his sins, how hopefully do these strains abound with expressions of confidence in the benign sympathy of his Guardian Angel, that Heavenly Friend, who consoled with his afflicted soul! Fly, he says, round the world, to seek some sovereign anodyne, some balsamic oil of Gilead to ease my pains,—

"But neither balm nor oil, I fear,
 Can my sad spirit cheer;
 Pains from my sins arise,
 In them the Anguish lies;
 And of a broken heart
 Nor balm nor oil can ever cure the Smart.

"O rather take your Heav'nly Lyre,
 Strike your melodious wire;

* Ken's Poems, pp. 143, 144.

Of Love Divine I long
 To hear an Angel's song ;
 It will my soul compose,
 Beyond or balm, or oil, allay my woes.

" My bleſſed Angel me obey'd,
 Divinely ſang and play'd ;
 A hymn he ſang well known,
 Sang at God's gracious Throne,
 When firſt a Sinner weeps,
 And Heav'n a Jubilee that moment keeps.

" O ! while I heard his charming ſtrain,
 No trace was left of pain,
 I, when he ceaſ'd, rethought
 The wonder hymn had wrought ;
 And when my pains revive,
 From hymn ſweet mitigations I derive." *

One more "Anodyne" may be permitted, before
 we commit his body to the grave.

" O had I wings of a ſwift Dove,
 That hov'ring in expanſe above,
 I might ſome place deſcry,
 Inſtantly thither fly ;
 Where, I abiding in ſweet reſt,
 No pain, no ſorrow, might my ſoul infeſt.

" I then would higher ſoar, and caſt
 My eyes o'er the Ethereal vaſt ;
 One place is in my thought,
 O were I thither brought,
 Though my frail fleſh I ſtill retain'd,
 I ſhould love God, ſing hymns, and not be pain'd.

" It is the ſphere of endleſs day
 Where Enoch and Elias ſtay ;
 Where they can ſin no more,
 Where they great God adore ;
 There at their ſacred feet I'd kneel,
 And kindle from their hymns celeſtial zeal.

“ I'll never envy that blest pair,
 Saints here on earth like bliss may share;
 Saints free from wilful sin
 Feel the like joys within;
 And while they copy the Lamb slain,
 God sweetens all their sorrow and their pain.” *

With these thoughts God mercifully prepared His holy servant for death. He had lived in a spirit of poverty, and mortification of will, ever making ready for the last hour; and when that hour struck, his breathings after eternal life had no palpitation of fear. He realized the beatitudes of his loved Saviour, by faith in His precious merits alone: “ Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.”

And where was he to die?

“ He went to Bristol in the beginning of the year 1710, for the benefit of the *Hot-Well*; where he spent the summer, and till November following. At which time he removed to Leweston, near Sherborne in Dorsetshire, a seat belonging to the Honourable Mrs. Thynne,† whose good works merited his respect and acknowledgment, as much as her generosity attempted the relief of his distemper. And being there seized with a dead Palsy on one side of him, he was confined to his chamber, till about the middle of March [1711]; when being, as he thought, able to take such a journey, he resolved for the *Bath*, in hopes to find relief from those waters; nor could the persuasions of that good lady, or his physician,

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. pp. 442-3.

† She was the only daughter of Sir George Strode, of Leweston, in Dorsetshire, and widow of the Hon. Henry Thynne (eldest son of Lord Weymouth), who had died in 1708. Collins's Peerage of England, vol. vi. pp. 267, 268.

divert his design, though he laboured under another distemper, (viz.) the Dropsy.”*

But it was decreed he should not die any where but at Longleat, which is hallowed by his name, and the near neighbourhood of his grave. What place so fitting as the well-known, much-loved, refuge of his last twenty years? It was the best return he could make for all the benefits he had received from his faithful, enduring friend, Lord Weymouth: “I can but give you my all—myself—my poor heart, and my last blessing.”

Mrs. Thynne endeavoured to dissuade him from attempting to remove; but as he thought himself strong enough to travel, she sent him in her coach as far as Longleat,† where he had no sooner arrived than he was sensible of what was to follow. “So calling at Longleat on Saturday, in his way thither [to Bath] he spent that evening in adjusting some Papers.” Probably many of inestimable interest were committed to the flames, and hence the few memorials that remain to us. “All the next day he confined himself to his chamber; and on Monday he was confined to his bed.” Two Physicians attended him; Dr. Merewether of Devizes, and Dr. Bevison from Bath: the short notices of him in the Diary‡ of the former

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 42.

† Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 128.

‡ This Diary of Dr. Merewether is now in the possession of his descendant, Mr. Serjeant Merewether, and contains the following particulars of his attendance on the Bishop:

“March 16th, 1711. I went to Longleat, to visit Bishop Ken; met Dr. Bevison.

“18th. I waited on him again; *ibid*.

show how much he revered him. He continued to linger for a week ; and they who would learn the lesson of a Christian's departure, in preparation for their own, may gather valuable instruction from the short and simple particulars of his Death-bed, and Burial :

"He was remarkably patient in his sickness ; and when upon his own enquiry of his physician, how many days he thought he might probably live, desiring him to speak plainly and freely, and telling him he had no reason to be afraid of dying ; and being by him answered, '*About two or three days*;' his only reply was (his usual expression, and that without the least concern), '*God's will be done*:' desiring that no applications might be made to cause him to linger in pain. It can be no wonder he should so little regard the terrors of Death, who had for many years travelled with his shroud in his portmantua, as what he often said might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments ; *and which was by himself put on, as soon as he came to Longleat, giving notice of it the day before his death, by way of prevention, that his body might not be stripp'd.* He doz'd much the day or two before he dyed ; and what little he spake, was sometimes not coherent, which, having been plied with opiates, seem'd to be rather the effect of dream, than distemper."*

"He would fain have given his servant a message for Bishop Hooper, but could not make himself understood, any more than that he mentioned his best friend."† No wonder this name should linger on

"19th. *All Glory be to God.* Between five and six in y^e morning, Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, died at Longleat."

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, pp. 43, 44, 45.

† MS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse. We are not told whether Mr. Harbin, the Chaplain of Longleat, was present, or who it was that

the lips of the dying Prelate ; for with the thought of Hooper was associated the beloved flock, which he had himself once trained for the mansions of the blessed. Thither his soul escaped, between five and six in the morning of the 19th of March, 1711, in the 74th year of his age.*

administered to him the last Office of the Holy Eucharist. In one of the "Preparatives for Death," he thus anticipates his

"*Viaticum.*"

"JESU, I in Thy Gospel read
That, 'ere Thou didst for Sinners bleed,
Thou didst the Eucharist ordain
Souls to sustain.
When Saints of all their sins releas'd,
On Jesus mystically feast,
They relish with immense delight
Love infinite.
JESU, when Death approach shall make,
May I of Thy dear Self partake,
That with a will resign'd I may
Thy Call obey.
May I, like Thee, my death-pangs bear,
Resting on God's paternal care,
Spreading my wings to take my flight
To blissful sight.
May I, like Thee, the World despise,
And languish, till to Thee I rise ;—
In Hymning Jesus, O may I
To Jesus fly !"

Ken's Poems, vol. iv. pp. 95, 97.

* His last illness is thus described by Henry Bedford, in a letter to Thomas Hearne :

"B^y Ken dyed at Longleat, March 19. 1710-11, a little after 5 in y^e morning, and was bury'd ab^t y^e same hour, on y^e Wednesday following, in y^e Parish [Frome] Ch. yard : his last illness of ab^t 8 days' continuance, mostly a difficulty of breathing, call'd by y^e Physicians a nervous asthma. Seiz'd first in January last, about 5 in y^e morning, wth violent coughing, at Mrs. Thynne's, at Lewiston, in Dorsetshire. About a week after, he was again, early in y^e morning, taken wth a dead palsy in his left side, w^h lasted a day or two, but y^e hand remained useles to his death. About a fort'night after y^e he was seiz'd with

He had desired that, wherever he might die, he should be buried "*in the Church yard of the nearest Parish within his Diocese, under the east window of the Chancel, just at sun rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the Order for Burial, in the Liturgy of the Church of England,*"—*and to be carried to the grave by the six poorest men in the parish.*"* His body was therefore carried to Frome-Selwood, a few miles from Longleat,—Horningsham Church not being within the Diocese of Wells. The Parish Registry of Burials, at Frome, contains this Entry,—"*21 [Mar. 1711] Thomas late L^d Bishop of Bath and Wells, Deprived.*" He directed that a plain stone should be laid over him, with the following Epitaph of his own composing;

"THE INSCRIPTION ORDER'D BY B^p KENN FOR HIS TOMBE."

"*May the here interred Thomas, late B^p of Bath and Wells, and uncanonically Deprived for not transferring his Allegiance, have a perfect consummation of Blisse, both in body and Soul, at The Great Day, of w^{ch} God keep me allwaies mindfull.*"†

Thus he would have had his very epitaph teach the passers-by to offer up a holy aspiration, at least,

spitting blood, yet he was well enough to remove to Longleat 9 days before he dyed, and design'd, 3 or 4 days after he got thither, to go to Bathe." Hearne's Correspondence in the Bodleian, vol. ii.

Hearne thus records the Bishop's death in his own Diary: "March 26. 1711. D^d Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died, yesterday was sen'night (Monday, March 19th). He was a truly good and pious man, and was one of those Bishops that were illegally deprived at the late wicked Rebellion." Reliquæ Hearnianæ, p. 218.

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† See Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 34, for a *fac simile* of the Epitaph, in the Bishop's own handwriting.

if not a prayer,—“*God Keep me allwaies mindfull of the Great Day.*” In all this we see that “he died, as he lived, a plain humble man.”* Christians of old had a solemn feeling of the sacredness of Churches: even their founders scarcely thought themselves worthy to be buried within the Porch of the sanctuary, dedicated to God’s honour. So Ken would sleep in the Church yard, among the lowly of the earth,† to whom he had preached the glad tidings of a still better rest. He had dined with his poor ones in the Palace at Wells;—now he would receive the last service at their hands, and be carried by them to the grave, which levels all distinctions.

We may presume that it was Lord Weymouth who gave directions for the singular monument which covers the remains of his friend.‡ It is, as Markland describes, “an iron grating, coffin shaped, surmounted by a mitre and pastoral staff, touching and beautiful in its character.”§ But it is a singular circumstance, that neither the epitaph which Ken himself wrote, nor any other record of him, was placed

* Nichols’s Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† “The poor, whilst living, he did ne’er despise;
Among the poor, now dead, he humbly lies.”

A Poem on the Death of the R^t Rev^d Father in God, Thomas KENN, &c., by Mr. Joseph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat, 4^o, 1711.

‡ The same generosity, which prompted Weymouth to befriend the Bishop while living, would naturally make him desirous to raise some memorial to the departed object of his veneration. Here I may add to the notices of that nobleman’s general munificence, that he, and his mother, once contributed two hundred pounds towards the ransom of an English Captain from Algerine slavery. See Pepys’ Life, Journal, and Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 76.

§ Markland’s Life of Ken, p. 112.

over or near his grave, for above a century after his death. It was reserved to the present Marchioness of Bath,*—who resembles Ken's early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, in a devout and charitable life,—to place a painted window in the South aisle of Frome Church to commemorate his Christian graces.† And is the poor dust, mouldering beneath yon iron grating, all that remains to us of Bishop Ken? Far from it:—he has left us his example,—the rich legacy of a long and holy life.‡ By this he points our way to

* Harriet, daughter of the late Alexander, (Baring) Lord Ashburton,—widow of the third, and mother of the fourth and present, Marquis of Bath.

† In Appendix, D, will be found extracts from Markland's account of the works which he, and others, a few years since, caused to be executed in the Church and Church-yard of Frome, as memorials of their affectionate reverence for the Bishop's character, and with a view to protect his tomb from future accident and decay.

‡ Any attempt at a general summary of his character would but weaken the effect, which the details of his Life are calculated to produce. We have no record of his person, unless from the anecdote of Charles II., who used to say, "I must go hear *little Ken* tell me of my faults." All his Portraits represent his countenance, as Dryden happily describes it;

"His eyes diffused a venerable grace,
And charity itself was in his face.
Nothing reserv'd, or sullen was to see:
But sweet regards, and pleasing sanctity."

We have already alluded to the epithets by which Ken was sometimes characterised in the writings of others, as "*seraphicus*" and "*spiritualis*." His name is thus associated with about fifty of the most eminent Divines of ancient and modern times, who are designated by epithets expressive of their characters. In this List mention is also made of

Thomas Aquinas . . . *Doctor Angelicus*;—*aut Aquila Theologorum*.
St. Austin *Doctor Seraphicus*.
St. Ambrose *Doctor Mellifluus*.
St. Chrysostom . . . *Doctor Divinus, vel irrefragabilis*.
Theodoret *Doctor Catholicus et Orthodoxus*.

The Catalogue is entitled, *A List of those who are marshall'd with*

the Courts of Heaven. In this he yet lives to us; by this he strengthens, comforts, sustains, and guides us, if we will be followers, as he was, of Christ. From his practical teaching of a long and eventful life we may learn the duties of our allotted sphere; to go forward in quietness and confidence; to love and to obey; to abound in alms-giving, and to be faithful to the Church of our Baptism.

We have, moreover, in his published works a lively impress of the spirit which animated him while

glorious epithets annexed to their names; and is to be found in the 41st Volume of the Ballard MSS. in the Bodleian.

The following is, perhaps, the most complete List of the separate engraved Portraits of Bishop Ken:

Octagon, in a pen-flourish. By J. Dundas, Epsom, Surrey. Octavo. Æt. 73. With arms. G. Vertue. Octavo.

A similar print, the portrait rather smaller. By the same. Octavo.

Oval. The same on a tablet below. Octavo. The same, *proof*, without letters.

Oval, in a frame. Proof, without letters. Octavo.

From a shop bill. From J. Dunbar, a vender of gowns and cassocks. Octavo.

A book plate. G. Adcock, scul. Published by Seeley. Octavo.

With arms. J. Baire, scul. Sold by Hazard. Duodecimo.

Oval. G. Vertue, scul. Duodecimo.

Oval. Proof, before letters. Duodecimo.

Oval,—facing the reverse way.

Catalogue of the Sutherland Collection, royal 4to, 1837, vol. i. pp. 571, 2.

The Frontispiece of this volume is from the rare print, by Loggan, of the Seven Bishops, and is probably very accurate, having been taken at the time of their trial, and release from the Tower.

There are some curious MSS., formerly belonging to the Rev. George Harbin, in the valuable and extensive Collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., at Middle Hill, near Broadway, in Worcestershire. See pp. 80 and 173 of his printed Catalogue. My grateful acknowledgements are due to Sir Thomas, for the free access which he afforded me to his literary treasures. He also possesses ancient deeds, relating to the property of the Kens in Somersetshire, as early as the 14th century: the arms on one of the seals are ermine, three crescents.

on earth. They are comparatively little known; and the present unworthy attempt to throw light on his character is made in the hope of leading some to a closer study of his writings. They are few and short—but they are golden all. Many writers have left behind them folios of divinity, history and ethics, rich stores of every kind, invaluable records of truth, depositories of learning, expositions of doctrine, commentaries on Scripture, irrefragable proofs of the sure foundations, on which our Christian Faith is builded up. Out of these we draw, as occasions serve,—now for one good purpose, then for another; and we cherish the names of the authors with deserved reverence. But we have already said that, as a devotional writer, Bishop Ken stands among the very first;—and because prayer is the key to unlock Heaven's gates, his works are second to few in importance and interest. "Prayer," he says, "is our Treasury where all blessings are kept, our Armoury where all our strength and weapons are stored, the only great preservative, and the very vital heat of Divine Love."

And lastly he has bequeathed to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, for all time, a Pledge, which in this wavering age especially is of inestimable value,—his ever-memorable Testimony to her truly Scriptural, Primitive, and Catholic doctrines. In and for the service of our loved Church he was early nurtured: he devoted all the energies and gifts of his maturer life to defend her integrity,—in his advancing years, he sacrificed all that was most dear to him on earth to be a Confessor to the inalienable rights of her spiritual

kingdom;—and at his death he crowned a life of faithful adherence to her by this declaration of attachment, which ought to be inscribed in the hearts of all her true children :

“ As for my Religion, I die in the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Faith, profess’d by the whole Church, before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan Innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.”

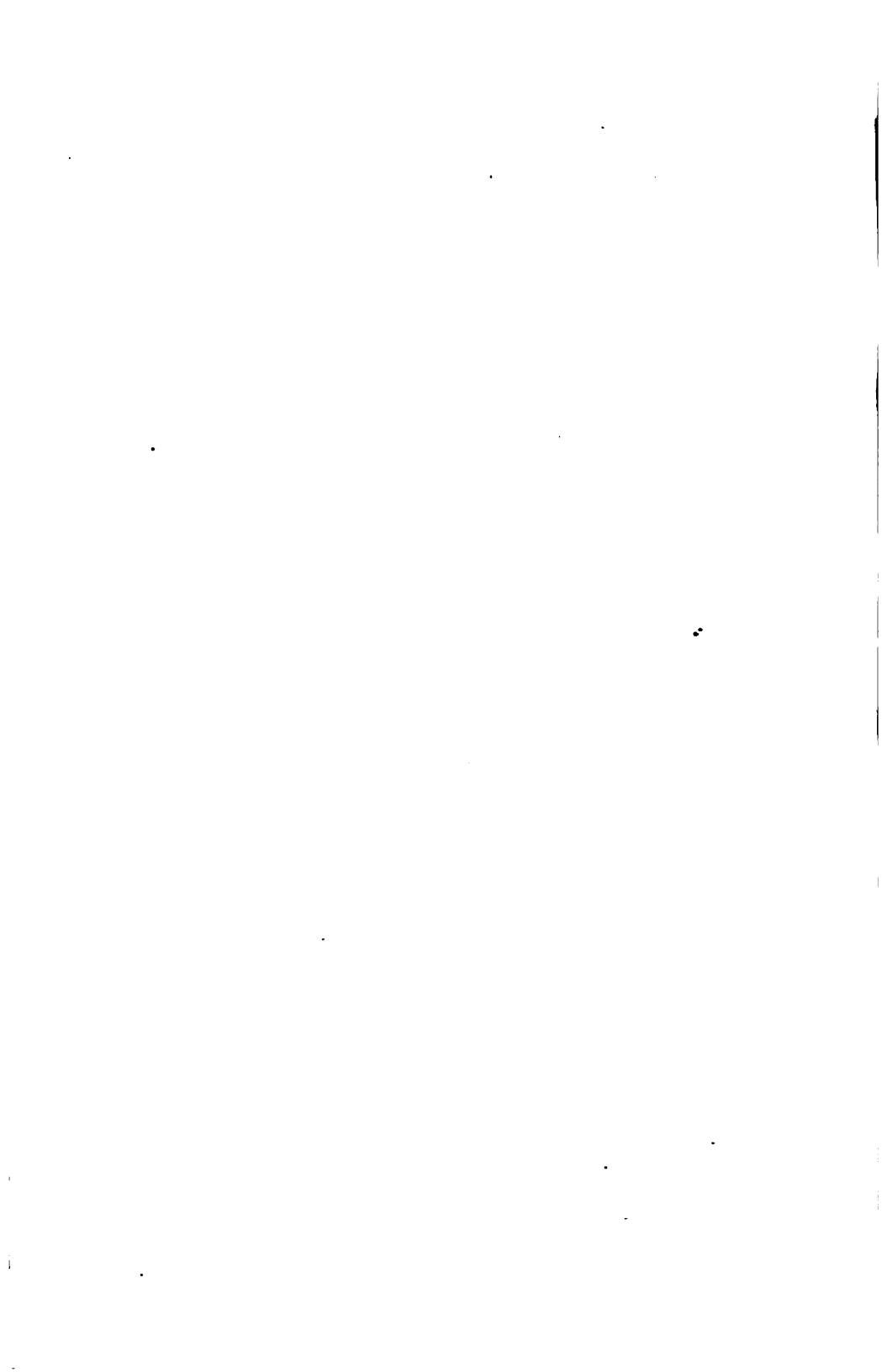
If, at any time, men of restless consciences, in their aspirations after some ideal perfection, be tempted to swerve from their allegiance to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, let them study the writings of humble, simple-hearted, steadfast, Bishop Ken, (steadfast, *because* humble, and simple-hearted) :—there they will find solid arguments against “widening her deplorable divisions,” and thus be animated by his spirit of obedience, and united with him in a firm resolve to “continue steadfast in her bosom, and improve all those helps to true piety, all those means of grace, all those incentives to the love of God,” which He has mercifully afforded to them “in her Communion.”

Above all, let us follow him into his closet, and join with him in his prayers. They are suited to all periods of life,—to every varying circumstance of trial or of need. There are praises in joy, thanksgivings for mercies, penitential sighs for the contrite, breathings of faith for the wounded and dejected heart,—aspirations of heavenly love for devout souls,

raising them to the spiritual vision of the glories of the eternal Throne. They are fitted for every hour, and for every place; we may use them as we walk by the way, as we rise in the morning, or commit ourselves to sleep, or lie wakeful;—as we travel, as we dwell at home;—from our first Communion to our last, we may cherish them as a Companion at the Altar, and a Manual of Devotions to keep alive the heavenly influences, imparted to us in the Holy Eucharist.

Let the conclusion be in his own words, often addressed to those who differed from him,—“MAY GOD KEEP US IN HIS HOLY FEAR, AND MAKE US ALL WISE FOR ETERNITY.” AMEN.







APPENDIX.

A B C & D.



APPENDIX A.

B I S H O P K E N'S
MORNING, EVENING AND MIDNIGHT
HYMNS.

Fac-simile of the Tune by Tallis, in Archbishop Parker's Psalter, which

N.B. It is professedly in the 8th of the Ecclesiastical or Gregorian Modes, and is in each of the seven other Modes, is also

The bars are not placed, as in Modern Music, according to

Meane.

G

OD grant with grace, he us em-brace: In gen-tle part: bleffe he our hart.

With lov-ing face: shyne he in place: His mer-cies all, on us to fall:

That we thy way: may know all day: While we do faile: this world so frail:

Thy health's re-ward: is nye de-clar'd: As playne as eye: all Gen-tiles spy.

Contratenor.

G

OD grant with grace, he us em-brace: In gen-tle part: bleffe he our hart.

With lov-ing face: shyne he in place: His mer-cies all, on us to fall:

That we thy way: may know all day: While we do faile: this world so frail:

Thy health's re-ward: is nye de-clar'd: As playne as eye: all Gen-tiles spy.

Hymn.

815

is the original form of the Music of Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn.

therefore headed as *The Eighth Tune*. One Tune by the same eminent Composer, printed in Archbishop Parker's Musical Psalter.

the accent, but according to the punctuation of the words.

Tenor.

G

OD grant with grace : he us em-brace : In gen-tle part : bleſſe he our hart :

With lov-ing face : ſhyne he in place : His mer-cies all, on us to fall :

That we thy way : may know all day : While we do faile : this world ſo frail :

Thy health's re-ward : is nye de-clar'd : As playne as eye : all Gen-tiles ſpy.

Baſe.

G

OD grant with grace, he us em-brace : In gen-tle part : bleſſe he our hart.

With lov-ing face : ſhyne he in place : His mer-cies all, on us to fall :

That we thy way : may know all day : While we do faile : this world ſo frail :

Thy health's re-ward : is nye de-clar'd : As playne as eye : all Gen-tiles ſpy.

THE EIGHTH TUNE.

*In Score and compressed Accompaniment, with conjectural corrections
by the REV. THOMAS HELMORE, M.A.*

N.B.—All deviations from the preceding Fac-simile are marked by an asterisk.



N.B.—If the notes between the bars drawn through the entire score be omitted, the tune will be adapted to the 4-line stanza of the Evening Hymn. The entire composition will of course require two verses of the hymn.

NOTE on the music of the two preceding pages.

It will be observed, on inspection of the upper and Tenor parts on the preceding pages, that each phrase of this composition is repeated, and thus serves for eight lines of eight syllables each; the omission of the repeats reduces it to the ordinary length for a verse of four lines, long metre, and in this form it is consequently best suited to the words of the Evening Hymn of Bishop Ken. Mr. Hullah, in his *Metrical Psalter*, gives the true reading in this shortened form, but inverts the two parts of the Canon, and differs from this arrangement in the accompanying Alto and Bass.

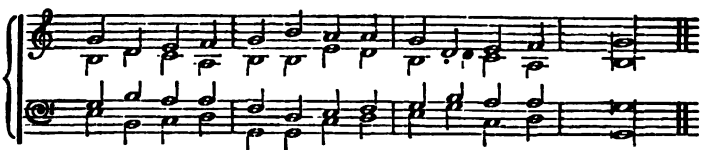
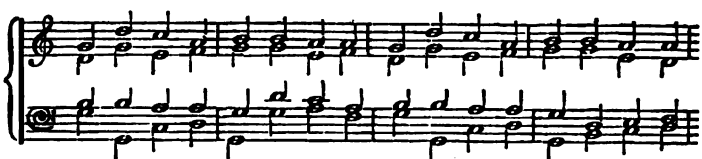
In the attempt here made to correct the evident inaccuracies of Archbishop Parker's book, the F has been left natural in some places, according to the signature of the eighth Gregorian Mode; and the sharp has been supplied only in those cases where the omission of the original appears to have been simply an oversight: these are marked in the music by an asterisk. Most persons will, doubtless, prefer the F^{\sharp} throughout. It has been thought best, however, to indicate the places where no actual necessity for it seems to exist.

The sharps upon B, in the signature of the Meane, Tenor, and Bass parts, and once again towards the beginning of the Tenor, appear to be merely a caution to the singers that the B is *hard* (*i. e.* natural), not *soft* (*i. e.* flat), as was common in much of the Plain Song with which they were familiar. The frequent introduction of the F^{\sharp} , as an accidental, precludes the supposition that the B^{\sharp} , in the signature, is a typographical misplacing of the modern signature of one sharp in the key of G major; while the well-known construction of the Church Modes places the matter beyond a doubt. The omission of any alternative sign in the Contra-tenor is a discrepancy characteristic of the musical typography of this date.

T. H

THE EIGHTH TUNE.

*A compressed score, giving the exact notes
of the foregoing separate parts.*



THREE
H Y M N S

BY THE

*Author of the Manual of Prayers for the use of the
Scholars of Winchester Colledge.*

A Morning HYMN.

A Wake my Soul, and with the Sun,
Thy daily stage of Duty run;
Shake off dull Sloth, and early rise,
To pay thy Morning Sacrifice.

Redeem thy mispent time that's past,
Live this day, as if 'twere thy last:
T'improve thy Talent take due care,
Gainst the great Day thy self prepare.

Let all thy Converse be sincere,
Thy Conscience as the Noon-day clear;
Think how all-seeing God thy ways,
And all thy secret Thoughts surveys.

Influenc'd by the Light Divine,
Let thy own Light in good Works shine:
Reflect all Heaven's propitious ways,
In ardent Love, and chearful Praise.

Wake and lift up thy self my Heart,
And with the Angels bear thy part,
Who all night long unwearied sing,
Glory to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye Heavenly Chaire,
May your Devotion me inspire,
That I like you my Age may spend,
Like you may on my God attend.

May I like you in God delight,
Have all day long my God in fight,
Perform like you my Maker's Will,
O may I never more do ill.

Had I your Wings, to Heaven I'd flie,
But God shall that defect supply,
And my Soul wing'd with warm desire,
Shall all day long to Heav'n aspire.

Glory to Thee who safe hast kept,
And hast refresht me whilst I slept.
Grant Lord, when I from death shall wake,
I may of endless Light partake.

I would not wake, nor rise again,
Ev'n Heav'n it self I would disdain ;
Wert not Thou there to be enjoy'd,
And I in Hymns to be imploy'd.

Heav'n is, dear Lord, where e'r Thou art,
O never then from me depart ;
For to my Soul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment without Thee.

Lord I my vows to Thee renew,
Scatter my sins as Morning dew,
Guard my first springs of Thought, and Will,
And with Thy self my Spirit fill.

Direct, controul, suggest this day,
All I design, or do, or say ;
That all my Powers, with all their might,
In Thy sole Glory may unite.

An Evening HYMN.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
Praise Him all Creatures here below,
Praise Him above y' Angelick Host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

An Evening HYMN.

GLory to Thee my God, this night,
For all the Blessings of the Light;
Keep me, O keep me King of Kings,
Under Thy own Almighty Wings.

Forgive me Lord, for Thy dear Son,
The ill that I this day have done,
That with the World, my self, and Thee,
I, e'r I sleep, at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread
The Grave as little as my Bed;
Teach me to die, that so I may
Triumphing rise at the last day.

O may my Soul on Thee repose,
And with sweet sleep mine Eye-lids close;
Sleep that may me more vig'rous make,
To serve my God when I awake.

When in the night I sleepless lie,
My Soul with Heavenly Thoughts supply,
Let no ill Dreams disturb my Rest,
No powers of darkness me molest.

Dull sleep of Sense me to deprive,
I am but half my days alive;
Thy faithful Lovers, Lord, are griev'd
To lie so long of Thee bereav'd.

But though sleep o'r my frailty reigns,
Let it not hold me long in chains,
And now and then let loose my Heart,
Till it an Hallelujah dart.

The faster sleep the sense does bind,
The more unfetter'd is the Mind ;
O may my Soul from matter free,
Thy unvail'd Goodness waking see !

O when shall I in endless day,
For ever chase dark sleep away,
And endless praise with th' Heavenly Choir,
Incessant sing, and never tire ?

You my blest Guardian, whilst I sleep,
Close to my Bed your Vigils keep,
Divine Love into me infil,
Stop all the avenues of ill.

Thought to thought with my Soul converse,
Celestial joys to me rehearse,
And in my stead all the night long,
Sing to my God a grateful Song.

Praise God from whom all Blessings flow,
Praise Him all Creatures here below,
Praise Him above y' Angelick Host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

A Midnight HYMN.

Lord, now my Sleep does me forsake,
 The sole possession of me take,
 Let no vain fancy me illude,
 No one impure desire intrude.

Blest Angels ! while we silent lie,
 Your Hallelujahs sing on high,
 You, ever wakeful near the Throne,
 Prostrate, adore the Three in One.

I now awake do with you joyn,
 To praise our God in Hymns Divine :
 With you in Heav'n I hope to dwell,
 And bid the Night and World farewell.

My Soul, when I shake off this dust,
 Lord, in Thy Arms I will entrust ;
 O make me Thy peculiar care,
 Some heav'nly Mansion me prepare.

Give me a place at Thy Saints feet,
 Or some fall'n Angel's vacant seat ;
 I'll strive to sing as loud as they,
 Who sit above in brighter day.

O may I always ready stand,
 With my Lamp burning in my hand,
 May I in sight of Heav'n rejoyce,
 When e'r I hear the Bridegroom's voice.

Glory to Thee in light arraid,
 Who light Thy dwelling place hast made,
 An immense Ocean of bright beams,
 From Thy All-glorious Godhead streams.

The Sun, in its Meridian height,
Is very darkness in Thy fight :
My Soul, O lighten, and enflame,
With Thought and Love of Thy great Name.

Blest Jesu, Thou on Heav'n intent,
Whole Nights hast in Devotion spent,
But I frail Creature, soon am tir'd,
And all my Zeal is soon expir'd.

My Soul, how canst thou weary grow
Of Ante-dating Heav'n below,
In sacred Hymns, and Divine Love,
Which will Eternal be above ?

Shine on me, Lord, new life impart,
Fresh ardours kindle in my Heart ;
One ray of Thy All-quickning light
Dispels the sloth and clouds of night.

Lord, lest the tempter me surprize,
Watch over Thine own Sacrifice,
All loose, all idle Thoughts cast out,
And make my very Dreams devout.

Praise God, from whom all Blessings flow,
Praise Him all Creatures here below,
Praise Him above y' Angelick Host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

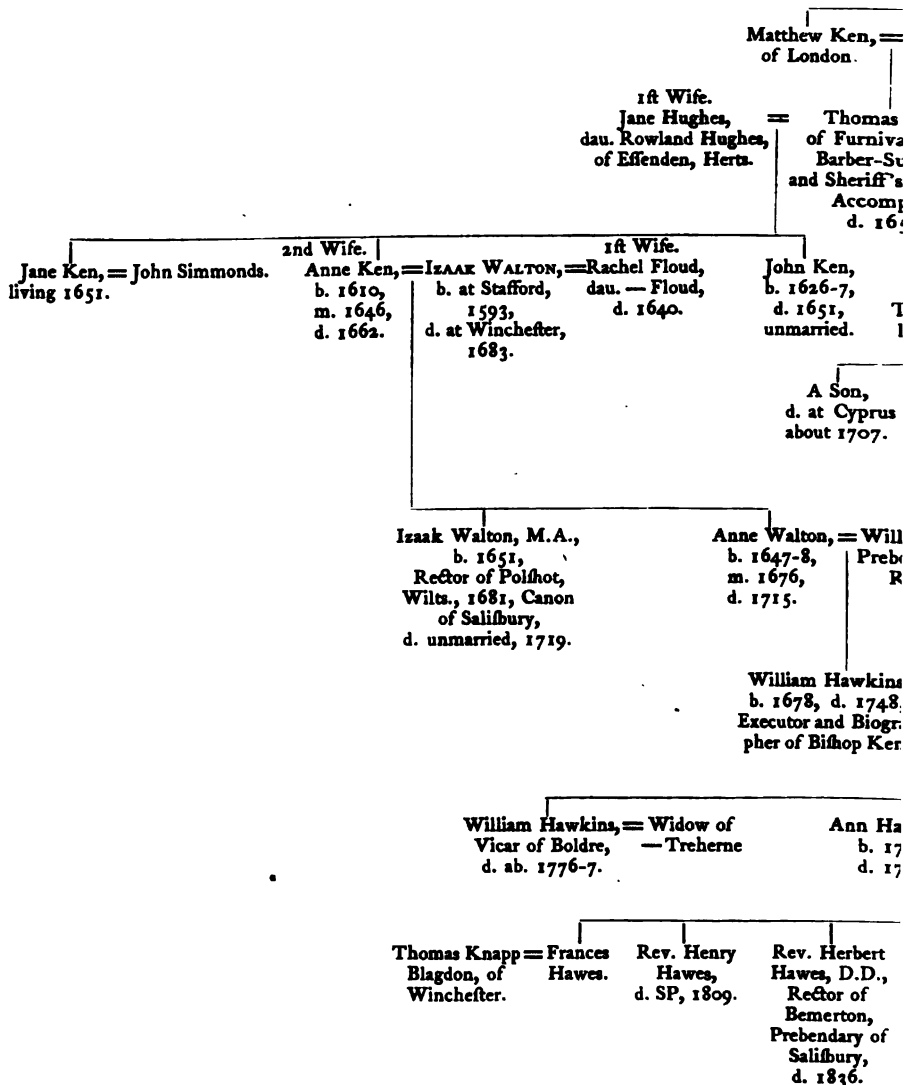


APPENDIX B.

PEDIGREE OF THE

Arranged, by permission, from

WILLIAM KEN, of Somersetshire, fu
of Ken, the first named in th



E FAMILY OF KEN.

Markland's Life of Bishop Ken.

married to be contemporary with John Ken,
Visitation of Somerset, 1623.

Elizabeth Barret,
of London.

Ion Chalkhill, = Martha Browne,
of Kingsbury, Middlesex. dau. Thomas Browne,
b. 1615, d. 1640-1.

2nd Wife. Martha Chalkhill, Margaret Chalkhill, = Martin Browne,
d. 1640-1, Surgeon,
buried at St. Giles, Alderman of London.
Cripplegate.

Ken, =
at Inn,
Surgeon,
Attorney
General,
etc.

Ion Ken, = Rose Vernon,
b. 1632, Sister of Sir Thos.
Vernon, of Coleman St., London.
died unmarried about 1701. living 1707.

Martha Ken, = James Beacham,
b. 1628, of London,
living 1714. Goldsmith,
living 1714.

Martin Ken, b. 1640.

THOMAS KEN, D.D.,
Youngest Son,
Bishop of Bath and Wells,
b. 1637,
d. 1711.

Rose Ken,
died unmarried about 1701.

Martha Ken = Hon. Christopher
Fred. Krienberg,
resident in London
of his Electoral
Highness of
Hanover.

Jon Beacham,
Fel. Trin. Col.,
Oxford.
1713.

William Beacham,
Fel. New Col.,
Oxford.
d. 1711.

William Hawkins, D.D.,
Bishop of Winchester,
Bishop of Drexford,
Hants,
b. 1633,
d. 1691.

Ken = Jane Merewether,
daughter of John
Merewether, M.D., of
Devises, who attended
Bishop Ken in his last
illness, d. 1761.

Hawkins, = Rev. John Hawes, M.A.,
b. 1719, Rector of Wilton, and
Fugglestone, St. Peter,
Wilton,
d. 1787, æt. 68.

Ann Hawes. Margaret Jane Hawes.

In Collinson's History of Somersetshire (Vol. III., p. 592,) the successive possessors of the Parish of Ken are given from the Reign of Henry II. to the issue of John de Ken, who was living at Ken in 1545. His Sons are said to have left children who dispersed themselves into different parts of the country. The Heiress referred to in a note at p. 2 of this Life of Ken, was Christian, daughter and co-heir to Christopher Ken, and married successively to two Royalists—Lord Poulett, and John Ashburnham. Honourable mention is made of her on a monument in Ashburnham Church. See Collins's Peerage,—“Poulett” and “Ashburnham.”



APPENDIX C.

LIST OF NONJURING CLERGYMEN IN THE DIOCESE
OF BATH AND WELLS.

The following list of names is taken from the *Appendix to the Life of Kettlewell* (a work published in 1718), and has been corrected by information most carefully gathered from the records in the registry of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, and communicated by the courtesy and kindness of the Rev. John Hotherfall Pinder, Professor of Theology at Wells, and of Edmund Davies, Esq., secretary to Bp. Bagot, the present diocesan. The six clergymen first named, are mentioned in the registry as having suffered deprivation for refusing to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Of Nos. 7 and 8, mention is made, but their deprivation is not recorded in the registry. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, are not mentioned at all in the registry: an omission perhaps explained by the offices which they filled. There seems no reason to doubt this to be a correct list of those "who were thought not to qualify themselves upon the Revolution." The List of Nonjurors in Bowles's *Life of Ken*, (ii. 180), so far as it has been tested by the diocesan records of Bath and Wells, is very incomplete. The biographical illustrations, added to the following list, will not, perhaps, be uninteresting.

1. MR. SAMUEL THOMAS, B.D., Prebendary or Canon of Compton Dundon, founded in the Cathedral Church of Wells, and Vicar of Chard, was deprived of his prebend in 1691, and of his vicarage in 1692, for refusing to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. He was a divine of worth and learning; and having imbibed principles very different from those of his father,—an eminent Puritan, ejected from Ubley, Somerset, in 1662,—is memorable for having directed the theological studies of Bishop Bull.

2. MR. WALTER HART, Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen,

in Taunton, and Prebendary or Canon of Ashill, founded in the Cathedral Church of Wells, was deprived of his vicarage in 1690, and his prebend in 1691. He also held a canonry of Bristol, which he lost in like manner. He died in 1736, aged 95. The three successors of Bishop Ken, who had greatly befriended Mr. Hart, viz., Kidder, Hooper, and Wynn, all contrived that he should receive the profits of his prebend of Wells, so long as he lived. He was father of the Historian of Gustavus Adolphus. See *Savage's History of Taunton*, 1822, p. 139.

3. MR. RICHARD KING, Rector of Marlston Bigott; deprived in 1692: some time Amanuensis to Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and Chaplain to Viscount Weymouth.

4. MR. CHRISTOPHER BROWN, Rector of Priston, deprived in 1692.

5. MR. ANDREW TALBOTT, Vicar of Southstoke, deprived in 1691.

6. MR. JAMES CROSSMAN, Vicar of Banwell, deprived in 1691.

7. MR. ROBERT JONES, Curate of Cutcott,* and Vicar of ——. There was a Robert Jones, Vicar of Cannington in 1690, and he is the only Incumbent of that name appearing in the records of the Registry of Bath and Wells from 1687 to 1718.

8. DR. MATTHEW BRIAN, instituted 16th October, 1688, to the Rectory of Lymington, then spelt Limmington. In the Life of A. à Wood, under date of Dec. 9, 1693, mention is made of a "Dr. Bryan, preacher to a Jacobite Meeting in St. Dunstan's Court, in Fleet Street, taken up."

9. MR. GEORGE HELLIER, Curate of Bromfield. He was, most probably, the Perpetual Curate of Broomfield.

10. MR. — ROTHERAM.

* There is a Donative, named *Cutcott*, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. Being *exempt*, no records of it would, perhaps, ever be found in the Diocesan Registry.

11. MR. WILLIAM OSBORN, Chaplain to Viscount Weymouth.

12. MR. ——— STREET, Curate and Schoolmaster at ———, near the Bath.

APPENDIX D.

An Account of the Works, undertaken by the admirers of Bishop Ken, in the Church and Church-yard at Frome, in Somersetshire, to protect his Tomb, and to raise a Public Memorial of his virtues ;—extracted, by permission, from the Appendix to Markland's Life of Bishop Ken.

“ A Committee of Management was appointed in 1844 to carry the proposed works in the church and church-yard at Frome into effect, consisting of the Venerable the Archdeacons of Bath and Wells ; the Rev. Charles Phillott, Vicar of Frome ; the Warden of New College ; the Warden of Winchester College ; the Head Master of Winchester College ; the Hon. and Rev. R. C. Boyle, Rector of Marston Bigott ; the Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge ; T. D. Acland, Esq., M.P. ; F. H. Dickinson, Esq., M.P. ; A. H. Dyke Acland, Esq., Wollaston House, Dorchester ; J. H. Markland, Esq., Bath ; and several of the clergy and laity of Frome.

“ Considerable funds were raised. The house of Longleat came forward most liberally, and contributions both from the inhabitants of Frome and persons at a distance were readily given. These have been devoted, chiefly, to the restoration of the chancel of the church, which, in consequence of injudicious alterations, destructive of its ancient architectural character, was greatly needed, and which had suggested itself as an appropriate method of showing honour to the memory of one, who might well say with the Psalmist, ‘ LORD, I have

AND BY HIS OWN DESIRE WAS BURIED IN THE
ADJOINING CHURCH YARD.
MANY REVERING HIS MEMORY HAVE JOINED
TO PROTECT FROM INJURY THE GRAVE OF THIS
HOLY CONFESSOR, AND TO RESTORE
THIS CHANCEL
TO THE GLORY OF ALMIGHTY GOD.
WITH LIKE REVERENCE THIS MEMORIAL WINDOW
HAS BEEN SET UP BY
HARRIET, MARCHIONESS OF BATH.
MDCCLXVIII.

“The floor of the chancel within the altar-rail, and to the extent of the chancel steps, is laid with beautiful encaustic tiles from the manufactory of Messrs. Minton, Hollins, and Wright. The most important one has the monogram *W.H.*, and the pastoral staff. The initial letters *W.H.* and *M.*, surmounted by coronets, are placed around; the one allusive to the Bishop's friend, Viscount Weymouth, the other to his descendant, the [Marquis of Bath] present noble proprietor of Longleat.

“Much indeed which has been accomplished in these restorations, must have been left imperfect, or wholly undone, had not the pious munificence of the before-named benefactors been largely exercised; one, who not only ‘prays for the peace of Jerusalem,’ but unceasingly ‘seeks to do good’ to the House of God.

“The tomb has remained wholly undisturbed, and is now enclosed and covered by a small stone chapel, eight feet nine inches long by three feet eight inches wide internally, and nine feet three inches high to the ridge of the stone roof, executed from the design of Mr. Butterfield. The north and south sides have traceried arches of nearly their whole length, filled in with simple iron vertical and horizontal bars, the middle one on each side carrying a metal cross. The east gable has a circular open window with cruciform tracery. The west end of the chapel is the east wall of the chancel. The height is regulated by the cill of the east window of the chancel, into which the ridge of the chapel roof runs.”

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